PROCEEDINGS

AT A

GENERAL COURT, &c.

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AT A

GENERAL COURT

OF

PROPRIETORS

OF

EAST-INDIA STOCK,

HELD AT THE

INDIA-HOUSE,

ON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1783,

RELATIVE TO THE

Hon. WARREN HASTINGS,

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN order to elucidate the following important debate, we wish to bring to the recollection of the public, the following circumstances:

On the 28th of May, 1782, the late Lord Advocate of Scotland proposed a resolution in the House of Commons, "That it was the duty of the Court of Directors to recal Mr. Hastings from the Government of Bengal."

On the 18th of June following, the Court of Proprietors resolved, that the Directors were not to carry into effect any resolution they might come to for the removal of Mr. Hastings, without laying it before a General Court.

On the 23d of October, 1782, after violent debates at the India House, thirteen Directors voted for the removal of Mr. Hastings — ten Directors opposed the measure, and seven of these gentlemen protested against it in the strongest manner.

On the 24th, this resolution was laid before a General Court, when it was fully and ably debated, and the following motion was made by Governor Johnstone, and seconded by Samuel Smith, jun. Esq. member for Ilchester.

That it appears to this court, from incontestable evidence drawn from the records of the Com-

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Company, and ſupported by the unanimous opinion of the Houſe of Commons, that the war in which we are now engaged with the Marattas, "was evidently founded on the ſentiments of the Court of Directors, conveying demands on the Maratta adminiſtration greatly exceeding the conditions of the treaty of Poorunder; which ſentiments of the Court of Directors opened the firſt deſign of ſending a detachment from Bengal to the Malabar coaſt;" and that conſequently it would be the height of injuſtice to lay the blame of that war, or the evils which have flowed from it, upon Mr. Haſtings, when it appears, "that the diſſatisfaction of the Court of Directors expreſſed at the treaty of Poorunder, in their letters to Bengal of the 5th of February, and to Bombay of the 16th of April, 1777, gave the ſtrongeſt encouragement to both preſidencies, to ſeize the ſlighteſt pretence of provocation from the miniſters of the Maratta ſtates, to renew their engagements with Ragobah." Neither have the meaſures adopted by Mr. Haſtings, in conſequence of ſuch inſtructions, ever received the ſlighteſt cenſure from the ſaid Court of Directors; in conſideration whereof, it is now recommended to the Court of Directors to reſcind their late reſolution reſpecting the removal of Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General of Bengal;

Bengal; more especially as it appears to this Court that, according to the last official dispatches from Bengal, dated the 8th April, 1782, the prospect of peace with the Marattas was then propitious, because it seemed to be wished for by all the Maratta states; because hostilities with them had ceased for many months, and that a peace had actually been concluded with Mahdajee Sindia, one of the principal chiefs of that confederacy; and farther, that the Government General of Bengal were using every means in their power to effect a general pacification; and that the conduct of the said Government General, tending to produce a general pacification, or to unite and support, by powerful resources, a general confederacy of the country powers, to defeat the combination of Hyder Ally and the French, (supposing the said Hyder Ally shall not accept of the reasonable terms of accommodation which have been offered to him in consequence of his proposals for peace) merits the warmest approbation of this Court; and that therefore it would be evidently injur ious t the interests of the Company and the nation to remove any of those principal servants of the Company, now discharging their duty with such uncommon exertions, ability, and unanimity, or to shake the authority reposed in them by the legislature and the Company,

pany, at a period ſo critical, when the proſperity of the Britiſh intereſts in India will depend, in a great meaſure, on the confidence which the native princes of the country may place in the Government General of Bengal."

Several Gentlemen who were preſent expreſſed a wiſh that this motion ſhould be determined by a ballot, and the friends of Mr. Haſtings being very deſirous to take the ſenſe of the Eaſt-India Company upon ſo important a queſtion, in the fulleſt and the faireſt manner, very readily acquieſced, and ſome of them ſigned the requiſition for the ballot. On the 31ſt of October the ballot was taken, and the numbers ſtood as follow:

For the queſtion — —	428
Againſt it — —	75
Majority in favour of Mr. Haſtings	353

This was the laſt proceeding in 1782, relative to Mr. Haſtings. Nothing was done in Parliament; and in conſequence of the intelligence received from Bengal by the Suprize Packet, Governor Johnſtone and eight Proprietors addreſſed a letter to the Court of Directors on the 29th of October, deſiring that a General Court might be called to conſider the late advices from Bengal. It was fixed by the Directors to meet on Friday the 7th inſtant.

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At a numerous and reſpectable Meeting of the Proprietors of Eaſt-India Stock, held at their Houſe in Leadenhall-Street, on Friday, November 7, 1783; among many other diſtinguiſhed Characters preſent were, his Grace the Archbiſhop of York, General Oglethorpe, the Honourable Mr. Greville, &c. &c. &c.

AFTER ſome private buſineſs of little importance, Sir *Henry Fletcher* informed the Court of Proprietors of the reaſon of their being ſummoned — It was to conſider the late advices from Bengal, in conſequence of a letter from nine proprietors — but before they ſhould enter on the ſubject for which they were aſſembled, he begged leave to propoſe that the petition to the Houſe of Commons, preſented

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laſt ſeſſion, in conſequence of which they had received certain aid, but not all they required, might be renewed. He ſtated the circumſtance to which the petition particularly alluded. They had prayed for liberty to borrow 1,500,000l. Of this ſum they had been ſuffered to borrow 500,000l. and temporary aid was given them for the 1,000,000l. but that aid they wiſhed to be permanent — and the ſpecific amount of the relief prayed for would make the only difference between the preſent and the laſt petition.

This buſineſs being finiſhed, and the letter read, Governor *Johnſtone* addreſſed the Chairman —

Sir Henry Fletcher,

The letter which has been read for calling the General Court, has already informed the proprietors of the purpoſe for which they are aſſembled. Thoſe advices from the Eaſt Indies which they are to take under conſideration, have been publiſhed in the newſpapers, and extracts of all the material intelligence they convey have lain open for the peruſal of the proprietors, as appears by the public advertiſement for calling the Court; otherwiſe in point of form, I ſhould begin by reading the advices to which I mean to refer, before I propoſe the motion I intend to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Court: but as the reading of voluminous public diſpatches is often diſguſting to ſuch aſſemblies, when the matter under diſcuſſion is of public notoriety, and where all who are anxious to underſtand the particulars have had an opportunity

nity ſo to do, I ſhall therefore adopt another mode of proceeding, which is, by giving the reaſons for the motion I ſhall propoſe before I ſit down; and then referring to the particular articles in the diſpatches on which the motion is grounded, that they may be read by the clerk.

The taſk I have impoſed upon myſelf is, indeed, attended with much difficulty, not from want of ſufficient and ſuperabundant matter to vindicate the motion, with which I mean to conclude, giving thanks to Mr. Haſtings and his council, for the exertions they have made in the public cauſe; but from that diſpoſition of party and faction in the ſtruggles for power, which has diſtracted this community in every part: to which I impute our late misfortunes, much more than to the exertions of our enemies. This ſpirit has gone forth to ſuch a rancorous degree that it is hardly poſſible, in the opinion of ſome, to give praiſe to one man, without throwing cenſure on others: but this cenſure is far from being my intention; it is rather my wiſh to heal the diſſentions that have prevailed, and to correct that ſpirit ſo detrimental to the community, than by any irritation to inflame it. I am not dexterous in my choice of words; but, once for all, I declare this to be my meaning. Nevertheleſs, if there are men of ſuch malignity of diſpoſition, that they cannot view the great actions of men with whom they have been connected in political enmity, without conſidering it as a reproach to themſelves, I freely acknowledge I

would rather incur the enmity of ſuch men, than withold, as far as I am able to enforce it, that tribute of applauſe which is due to thoſe who have greatly ſerved their country. It has been my lot, Sir, in the ſtruggles which this country has undergone againſt her numerous enemies, to attach myſelf chiefly to thoſe characters who were willing boldly to meet the danger, not tamely to ſubmit to the indignities of our enemies; nor, by croaking deſpondency in the hour of diſtreſs, when nothing but animated exertion could ſave us, unman themſelves, and diſpirit their countrymen. It has been the fortune, or misfortune of other men in this community, to employ themſelves in curious inveſtigation to diminiſh the luſtre of thoſe characters; but, thank God! juſt as the effects of their laborious reſearches were likely to burſt on my friends, by the news of ſome great and glorious action, achieved by thoſe perſons, arriving, their reputation has been ſaved, and the men who would have blaſted their fame have been obliged to join in the public applauſe. Such was the caſe of Lord Rodney, who, when abſent in the ſervice of his country, had a committee of the Houſe of Commons ſitting in ſevere ſcrutiny on his actions at St. Euſtatius. The report was made by the ſame right honourable gentleman who has favoured the world with the Ninth Report, and other papers, criminating Mr. Haſtings — nay, the day of his condemnation was fixed, and his recal had already taken place, when the accounts of the glorious 12th of April came to raiſe the ſpirit of his friends,

friends, and to abaſh the malignity of his enemies. In like manner, after the inquiſitorial proceedings of the Select Committee had been given to the Houſe of Commons, and induſtriouſly circulated to the public, to prejudice the character of Mr. Haſtings— after he had been repreſented in a great national aſſembly as a public robber, and moſt notorious oppreſſor — after his enemies had held out the hopes he had given of ſaving our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies as ſo many ſcenes in a ſeries of deluſions, there comes, in a moment, as critical in his favour as the victory of the 12th of April was in that of Lord Rodney — an account of the Maratta treaty, ſettling and commanding the peace of India, the retreat of Tippoo Saib from the Carnatic, the taking of the province of Bednore, and the ſurrender of Mangalore; which leaves no longer any doubt of the triumph of our arms, and the ſtability of our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt. The conduct of Mr. Haſtings and Lord Rodney, may be compared to that of Sylla, when proſecuting the war againſt Mithridates. Being informed by one of the officers of the proceedings of Marius, he was aſked how he could remain in Aſia while ſuch perſecutions were carrying on againſt him at Rome? Sylla made anſwer, "It is by this I am making the moſt cruel war againſt Marius. I will firſt conquer the enemies of the Republic, and then return to Rome and puniſh Marius." Upon ſuch an occaſion as the preſent, I would recommend to thoſe who have been the profeſſed enemies of Mr. Haſtings, to follow

the exact line they did in the case of my Lord Rodney. They were the first to run to the senate, and the first to propose public thanks upon so great an event: and the orator, upon whose representations they had chiefly relied for their former opinion, declared that he could no longer look through such a blaze of glory at the faults he had discovered, and was ready to cover them with the ensigns which he had taken from the enemy. In like manner, admitting for the sake of obtaining unanimity in the motion I shall make, that Mr. Hastings has had some faults in his conduct, yet I desire that those who were formerly disposed to view him in that light will now cover those errors with the Maratta treaty, with the standards of Tippoo Saib, with the ensigns of Bednore and Mangalore. In the same spirit I would advise those who are so charmed with the wit of the Ninth Report of the Select Committee, to read, as an antidote, the history of the transactions I have enumerated. During the last recess of parliament, I have often heard it asked, have you read the Ninth Report? If ever that question is put again, I advise the friends of Mr. Hastings to make no other answer than this: have you read the Maratta Treaty? In great national affairs, like this under our consideration, upon which the fate of an empire depends, it is in vain to call upon me to look at little specks in the conduct of such men; they may be true or false; I will disdain to consider them at such a moment, when my heart should be filled with the effusions of joy and grati-

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tude. It was left for the *Examiner* and his aſſociates, to find out that the Duke of Marlborough had given a contract to this or that man improperly, but who, on receiving the account of the battle of Blen heim or Ramillies, would have ſtopped the tribute of his praiſe and admiration, upon ſo trifling a tale. The Court of Directors ſhould be particularly cautious, not to admit any prejudice in their minds from the reports of the Select Committee. It is well known, that as ſtrong reports as could be framed, were brought down by that reſpectable Committee againſt two of your own body; * but when the accuſation came to be ſifted, it appeared ſo frivolous and ill founded, that the framers of the report were aſhamed to bring the iſſue to a public diſcuſſion and deciſion. If this has happened reſpecting men on the ſpot, how much more may we ſuſpect the labours of that diſintereſted body, reſpecting a man at the diſtance of four thouſand leagues? But, I ſhould be ſorry to be underſtood, as meaning to inſinuate that actions, however great in themſelves ſhould cover any injuſtice to individuals. Theſe are ſubjects of proper diſcuſſion for the courts of juſtice; or if Mr. Haſtings, in the preſſing exigency of his ſituation, has exacted more men or money from any perſon, than equity or ſound policy will warrant in the defence of the State; let the Court of Directors order compenſation when the peace is eſtabliſhed. All I contend for at preſent is, that the ſituation was critical, the aſſiſtance requiſite; and if there appears ſome fault in the mode of enforcing the payments, it was an exceſs of zeal in

* Mr. Sulivan and Sir William James.

your ſervice, and not for his own emolument; therefore it ſhould not ſtop the current of your approbation on this day.

But, Sir, the General Court of Proprietors are more particularly called upon to expreſs their ſentiments, upon the late advices from the Eaſt Indies; they have been vilified, traduced, and abuſed; nay, all their privileges, ſecured by ſacred charters, threatened to be taken away by that aſſembly, which ought to be the guardians and protectors of public rights, becauſe they had offered to interfere againſt a torrent of intemperate proceedings, and ſupport this very man in his ſituation, who has now fulfilled their expectations, and ſo completely vindicated their character and his own. Though I can by no means recommend the ſpirit of exultation, where I wiſh to heal the wounds of diſcord, yet I cannot, on the other hand, aſſume that modeſty, which would deny bringing thoſe tranſactions to the recollection of the public. If this court had not interpoſed, firſt by the reſolution in June, and afterwards by that in October, 1782, I believe there is none acquainted with the affairs of the Eaſt, who will not allow, that inſtead of rejoicing for public events, we ſhould have had cauſe to mourn over misfortunes, worſe than the loſs of America: even you, Sir, who was then of opinion, that the Maratta treaty was a deluſion, and that the aſpect of our affairs, as we had painted them, in the motion for reſcinding that reſolution of the Court of Directors, which had diſ-

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miſſed Mr. Haſtings, will now acknowledge it has been attended with the beſt effects. Since, then, all our prognoſtics have proved true, ſince the courſe of events has exceeded the expectations of the moſt ſanguine, it would be unworthy our characters not to claim the merit of our conduct under ſuch circumſtances.

That the ſubſequent part of my diſcourſe may be better underſtood, I ſhall here read the motion with which I intend to conclude, and when the three reſolutions are taken together, I ſhall not conſider them as that part of my conduct in life, which gives me the leaſt ſatisfaction, in having had the honour to propoſe them.*

As far as I have been able to catch the pulſe of the public, I underſtand there will be little oppoſition to any part of the motion I have read, except the concluſion. Government are very apt, when they chuſe, to interfere in an extraordinary manner in the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company, to hold a language in which I do not entirely diſagree with them; that the affairs of the Eaſt are now of ſuch magnitude and conſequence to the ſtate, that every man in high ſtation in that country may be conſidered as the immediate ſervant of the public; but I obſerve this language is more frequently aſſumed when they are pleaſed to throw cenſure, than to communicate praiſe. The thanks of the Houſe of Commons have been given

* Here the motion inſerted at the end of the ſpeech was read.

to Sir Eyre Coote, in my opinion moſt deſervedly. The thanks of that Houſe have likewiſe been given to Sir Edward Hughes, with equal juſtice; but great and illuſtrious as theſe characters are, noble as their exertions muſt ever appear, will any one, who underſtands the tranſactions of the Eaſt Indies, ſay they have performed greater public ſervices than Mr. Haſtings? Sir Eyre Coote will not ſay ſo; for, on the contrary, he has told you, the ſaving of the Carnatic has been owing to the extraordinary exertions of the Governor General. Sir Edward Hughes will not ſay ſo, who, with a peculiar modeſty, forgetting his own merit, has dwelt with pleaſure and admiration on that of his friend, Governor Haſtings. If thoſe officers, acting on the ſpot, afford us this teſtimony of approbation, and the concluſion of the ſcene vindicates their opinion, ſhall we believe them, or the judgment of a Committee who have not been farther than the avenues of St. James's? Neither do I ſee how it is poſſible with juſt reaſoning to aſſent to the firſt part, and deny the concluſion. It may be ſaid, however, what motives have this Committee to miſlead the public? It does not become me to enter into the motives of men; the ſtruggles for power are often productive of the worſt miſchiefs to the public, and the moſt cruel injuſtice to indviduals. It is poſſible alſo that thoſe gentlemen feel none of the reſentments they would endeavour to raiſe in our minds. Men, moving in the higher orbits, ſeldom enter the circle of inveteracy; that is left to the inferior orders of men, if they are weak enough to be drawn into the eddy; but what we have lately

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ſeen may teach us to avoid this ſituation. Perhaps if Mr. Haſtings had quitted his office of Governor-General of Bengal, we ſhould have heard no more complaints againſt him; he might have remained as quiet as any other diſplaced miniſter, nay, I ſhould not be ſurprized if his greateſt enemy, ſucceeding to his office, ſhould, in a ſhort time, pronounce his eulogium, and that all our ſquabbles at this end of the town ſhould end in as pleaſing a coalition, as that which has appeared at St. Stephen's. If I am preſſed ſtill farther to explain the motives of the Committee, I ſhould ſay, that I conſider the whole as the labours of the principal member of that Committee, and that I apprehend the enmity he has taken up againſt Mr. Haſtings, ariſes, as I have ſaid in another place, from the tenderneſs of his mind, and his extreme humanity, which does not permit him to view, with his uſual judgement, thoſe ſcenes of horror which are incident to war. There is hardly a campaign under the mildeſt officer that does not exhibit ſcenes, which when painted by a lively imagination, are not ſufficient to make us ſick of exiſtence; but when thoſe ſcenes are examined, with the cauſes that produced them, and the effects that followed, and the neceſſity which impreſſed, as the beſt means to attain the end, the hatred againſt the perſon who directed the execution is removed. When the King of Pruſſia burnt the beautiful ſuburbs of Dreſden, when Sylla ordered his troops to ſet fire to Rome to drive Marius from the Capitol; in conſidering only the horrors and devaſtation which enſued, our minds are apt to revolt

againſt the man who could iſſue ſuch orders; and, accordingly, there are many philoſophic writings which have condemned thoſe acts, while other writers on the art of war have praiſed the magnanimity and promptitude of ſpirit which directed them. In the ſame way I apprehend the ſtory of Cheyt Sing has been miſunderſtood, by not conſidering the whole of the tranſaction, as neceſſary to the ſtate of the war, and the preſervation of our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt; and when we come to reflect that this is the only quarter of the globe in which the Britiſh arms have ſuſtained their luſtre without loſing territory, we ſhould be more cautious in imputing blame to the Governor General, who has preſerved them; or in withholding our praiſe for his having ſo done;—if I look to North America, the proſpect is too melancholy; if I caſt my eye to the Weſt Indies, a number of iſlands appear under the flags of our enemies;—if I go to the Mediterranean, I ſee Minorca loſt: it is in the Eaſt alone we have ſuſtained the ſhock with credit; it will hardly be ſaid we have reſiſted the power of our enemies by the wiſdom of our councils at home: ſuppoſing they had ſhewn ſufficient ſagacity in that reſpect near their immediate controul, the diſtance of our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies renders the direction of the reſources of that country impoſſible. It is therefore owing to the government exiſting on the ſpot. Under ſuch circumſtances, if it were only to prevent the invidious parallel, I ſhould hope his Majeſty's Miniſters would not with-hold their tribute of thanks upon ſuch an occaſion.—Whoever will trace the progreſs of the negociation with the Ma-

rattas from the beginning to the conclusion, the means applied to bring about that event, will find sufficient cause to excite his admiration, and to extinguish any malevolence he may entertain against Mr. Hastings.—There is a degree of spirit and perspicuity through the whole of that business, that makes me, while I rejoice it was under the management of such able hands, wish for a moment the same judicious, active councils could have been communicated to other parts that stood in equal need of them. To trouble the Court with a long citation is always disagreeable to popular assemblies; nevertheless, there is one letter, although of some length, which I cannot refrain from reading, as conveying an idea of that determined spirit which pervaded the whole. The Court will be pleased to observe, that this letter was written to Mr. Anderson, at a period when all others, except Mr. Hastings, were ready to sink into despondency.

(C O P Y.)

Fort William, Dec. 4, 1782.

MY DEAR ANDERSON,

I Have received yours of the 13th ult.—It is near a month since your letters informed me, that the delivery of the ratified treaty had been promised in fifteen days, and repeated and positive assurances given by Mahdajee Sindia, that his engagements should be fulfilled to your entire satisfaction, or something to that effect, for I have not your letters

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by me.—If, when you have received this letter, the ratification has not been made, nor Sindia afforded the proofs, whatever they may be, of his fidelity to his engagements, and ability to maintain them himſelf, and enforce them on others, I ſhall pay no attention to his future declarations. Had I the power to act from myſelf alone, I ſhould bring this buſineſs to a very ſhort iſſue. Let us, however, do what we can.—Tell Sindia, but tell him in perſon, and in my name; 1ſt, That you have continued too long with him for the honour of our government, if you were only to be the attendant on his perſon; 2d, That it is neceſſary to come to a full explanation, and a determinate one, on the points which remain to be adjuſted, and for which alone you have been permitted to remain ſo long with him; 3d, That theſe points are, firſt, the ratification of the treaty; and, ſecondly, a plan of co-operation againſt Hyder Ally; 4th, That we have expected the former only as it led to the latter, not conſidering it neceſſary to the confirmation of the Peace, which by our ratification of the general treaty, and its concluſion by him under the full powers which he poſſeſſed is as fixed and binding as the moſt ſolemn of all poſſible ſanctions could make it; 5th, That until the treaty is ratified, we ſhall conſider him in his own perſon as the party to it, and when it is ratified, as the guarantee; but the ſtate bound equally in either caſe, the form of the ratification being his concern, not ours; 6th, That we are ſatisfied with our alliance with him; and prefer his name and faith to any other

other for the fecurity of the engagements of his nation; 7th, That the general treaty was concluded and executed feven months ago, and ratified by us on the inftant of its receipt; 8th, That the procraftinating fpirit of the Marattas, which is proverbial, in all their negociations and concerns with others, has already been the caufe of one renewal of hoftilities with the Englifh, in fpite of the laboured endeavours of this government to prevent it, and has always a tendency to produce the like confequences by the diftruft infeparable from fuch appearances; 9th, That I acquit him of this national cenfure, having found him decided and confiftent in every tranfaction which has paffed between us; and which depended on himfelf alone; 10th, That therefore this remonftrance is intended for others, with whom we have no connection but through him; 11th, That General Sir Eyre Coote having come to Bengal for the recovery of his health, expects to be able to return to the Carnatic in the beginning of the next month; 12th, That we fhall in the mean time concert with him the plan of his operations there, whether for peace or war, and give him final inftructions; 13th, That Hyder himfelf is defirous of peace, and would agree to it on eafy conditions; 14th, That his refources are greatly exhaufted, his army reduced in numbers, and difcontented; 15th, That the Carnatic, which afforded them a fubfiftence, and the incitements of plunder, is now a defert, and more unprofitable to them than to us; 16th, That we have received large reinforcements of foldiers, of the

King's own army from England, which lie inactive because we are waiting the determination of the Maratta government, not chusing to involve ourselves in any designs which might eventually impede or embarrass our engagements with them; 17th, That it is therefore my desire to know, and I conjure him to tell me with that sincerity which has hitherto marked and done honour to his character, whether the engagements which we are willing to conclude with the Peshwa against our common enemy, can be formed and executed in this season, or whether it is impracticable; 18th, That in this act we must require the sanction of the Peshwa's name, and the concurrence of the minister to give it its due influence and credit; and for the same reason, I wish for the ratification of the treaty likewise, because the world will not believe them to be in earnest while they with-hold it; 19th, That I wish to bring our contest with Hyder to an issue, while we have a superiority in strength, as there is a probability that he will be joined by a powerful armament from France in the next year, which may enable him to bid defiance to our united efforts, if delayed so long; — 20, That if they will engage in a plan of immediate co-operation with us, we will make that our object; — 21, But if they will not, we will take care of ourselves; — 22, That we make no scruple of avowing our wants, because we know theirs to be at least equal to them; since the total loss of the Carnatic, were we to lose it, would be no real loss to us; it would indeed be a loss of credit, and injure

 our

our national character by involving the ruin of an old and faithful ally; but our ſubſtantial poſſeſſions would acquire an additional value from it, Hyder is in poſſeſſion of a large portion of Marratta dominions, and with the conqueſt of the Carnatic (an event which I only ſuppoſe for argument) would be in a condition to make an eaſy prey of the reſt of the Decan; but if he is only freed from the war with the Engliſh, and left at liberty to carry all his forces towards the Kriſtna, he will not only be able to ſecure his new poſſeſſions in that quarter, but add to them.

I rely on your firmneſs and addreſs to give this remonſtrance complete effect. It is certainly *my* wiſh to proſecute the war againſt Hyder to his deſtruction; but if the Marattas will not aſſiſt us, our Forces and reſources in the Carnatic are not equal to a war with him and his allies the French; and it will be more for our intereſt, and even credit, to make peace with him. — This alternative I have therefore reſolved to adopt *for myſelf*. — The General, I believe, inclines to a peace, and would be pleaſed to be the inſtrument of effecting it. — Theſe are my own ſentiments; make what uſe of them you pleaſe. — Thoſe of my colleagues in this matter I have not conſulted.

I am,

My dear Anderſon,

Your moſt affectionate Friend,

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

This letter had its effect, and was the principal cause of bringing matters to a speedy conclusion.— As to the latter part of the motion, it is necessary to declare as my own sentiments, and the sentiments of those with whom I am acting, that we do not mean, as has been industriously given out in the world, to continue Mr. Hastings in the perpetual government of Bengal; on the contrary, it is our wish that his successor shall be appointed; but until a proper successor should be found, we do not wish our affairs should be left in confusion before the arrangements necessary upon a peace establishment shall have taken place; we think also for obvious reasons, that Mr. Hastings is the fittest person to carry these regulations into execution: whoever his successor may be, it can be no dimunition of his dignity, nor any loss in fullfilling the purposes of his commission, to hear and see the plans Mr. Hastings may have adopted; so far from wishing a successor may not be appointed, we are desirous it may take place. Mr. Hastings has formally announced his wish to re-visit his native country, and desired a successor might be appointed; but we are jealous in considering who that person may be. The maintaining dominion at such a distance, is one of the most wonderful scenes in human society, it can only be held by the exercise of the utmost wisdom: this reflection, Sir, must often occur to your mind in moving the goose-quill with which you give or take away a kingdom at the other side of the globe. It is not every person who may make a figure at a court, that is fit for such a trust.

The

The numerous qualities which are requiſite, are hardly to be found united in the ſame perſon. Our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies ſeem now to be our beſt ſtake, the chance of holding them muſt not be tampered with — In this choice neither favour or affection, but real efficient qualities ſhould prevail. His Majeſty may give titles and honours, but he cannot communicate the wiſdom and experience which are requiſite to a Governor General of Bengal, where the want of local knowlege, if the choice ſhould fall on one who has never been in the country, can only be made up from that general knowledge and experience, which is capable of applying its reflections to every ſituation in life. — Such men are not to be met with in every club of this great city, even if we proceed in our ſearch to thoſe in St. James's Street; perhaps they muſt be ſought for in the ſhade of retreat. That the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock ſhould have ſome opinion in the choice, is what I maintain; that they ſhould alone direct, is more than I contend for. — To fall ſo low as we are placed by the compiler of the Ninth Report, is a ſituation to which I never will ſubmit, until the plan he propoſes of annihilating our privileges, ſhall be carried into execution. It is curious to examine the conceit and the principles which are apparent in that performance. He tells you that all the Reformations which Parliament have attempted hitherto, have been deſtructive of the end propoſed; and yet, without drawing the natural concluſion, of precaution in breaking ancient inſtitutions with too much temerity;

where the united wiſdom of the nation has failed, this gentleman is for levelling every barrier in the conſtitution of our body, and breaking in pell-mell upon thoſe rights and privileges which have ſuſtained the intercourſe of the Eaſt ſo long, which conquered the dominion in queſtion, and has preſerved it under the late deſperate attacks.

Another reaſon for conceiving the motion in thoſe words, is to avoid any ſhock between the juriſdiction of the Court of Directors, and the Governor General of Bengal; where the dignity of both ſeem to be committed — it is not my wiſh to enter into the controverſy. If Mr. Haſtings is requeſted by this Court to continue in his government, the reſtoration of Cheyt Sing is neceſſarily given up; while at the ſame time, it may be proper on his part, to ſubmit to the reſtoration of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Fowke—but while I ſay this, and declare it as my opinion, that in every controverſy between the Directors and the Governor General, the power of the Directors muſt be ſupreme. — I beg leave to remark on the other hand, that much diſcretion muſt neceſſarily be left with the Governor General, and a due deference to his rank and ſituation ought always to be obſerved. From the diſtance at which he is placed, many things may occur, which could not be known at the time of iſſuing the order — wherever it ſhall evidently appear, that ſuch circumſtances are material in determining on the point in iſſue, at the time of giving the orders, and which were not known to

the Court of Directors, I ſhall not think the Governor General to blame in referring the matter again to their conſideration; but when, with all thoſe circumſtances before them, they have a ſecond time reſolved, their orders muſt be implicitly obeyed. In the ſame manner the Court of Directors muſt, by our conſtitution, ſubmit to the deciſion of a General Court — while the General Court ſhould always be careful and cautious not to violate the reſpect which is due to the perſons they have choſen for the management of their affairs — Thus in the caſe of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Fowke; I think Mr. Haſtings was bound to place them in the ſituations, to which the Court of Directors had ordered them to proceed, at Oude and Benares. At the ſame time I am of opinion, that it was below the Court of Directors to make this a cauſe of difference with their chief Governor, who ſhould undoubtedly have the choice of the men he is to employ in confidential embaſſies to foreign powers. It is impoſſible the Court of Directors can be ſo good judges of the merits of their ſervants in this reſpect, as the Governor General on the ſpot. Even the nomination of Mr. Briſtow and Mr. Fowke, ſhew that they were not appointments in the ordinary line of ſuceſſion, becauſe many of their ſeniors might have claimed thoſe ſtations — ſuppoſing the Court of Directors had interfered in the appointment of Mr. Anderſon to negociate with Scindia, it is probable that no other man could have been found of equal ability; this ſhews Mr. Haſtings is not inattentive to merit in the objects

of his selection: the politics of Oude and Benares are equally links in the chain of negotiation. It would be deemed extremely severe even in his Majesty, to insist upon appointing ambassadors to the courts of Europe, notoriously hostile to the ministry he employed; and yet there is no doubt of his Majesty's power to send any ambassadors he thinks proper. In every situation there are confidential places, which the Supreme power always leaves to the efficient person, who is to carry his orders into execution, to fill up as he pleases. The Admiralty has an undoubted right to appoint captains, but it is always left to a flag officer to name such a person as he approves, for the command of the ship where the flag is hoisted. The answer of Mr. Hastings was putting the controversy in a true light, "If you persist in ordering those gentlemen to confidential posts which have always hitherto been filled up by the Governor General, you ought to recall me; it is better that I should be removed, than the authority of your government be weakened in the eyes of the natives." In this there was nothing disrespectful, it was the language of a man who felt the dignity of his trust, and the interest of the public good. When Hannibal arrived in Afric to the relief of Carthage, the council sent him orders how he was to proceed in the manner of attacking Scipio. His answer was, "That in matters of civil concern, the council of Carthage must determine; but while they entrusted him with the command of their army, he must be left at liberty to judge how to attack the Romans.

Another

Another reaſon why I am anxious this queſtion ſhould paſs unanimouſly is, the effect it will neceſſarily have on his Majeſty's Miniſters. They will certainly be more cautious in proceeding to puniſh thoſe men who have received ſuch teſtimonies of public applauſe; at leaſt it will oblige them to examine true merit with their own eyes. Whatever prejudices they may have received from the repreſentations of the principal member of the Select Committee, I imagine when the approbation of ſo reſpectable a circle of Proprietors as are now aſſembled, they will deliberate twice before they proceed in the career he has pointed out. There was a time when the influence of that gentleman was ſuch, that his authority would have been ſufficient to have directed the reſolutions of his party without farther examination; but I believe this implicit influence no longer exiſts. If therefore our proceedings have no other effect than to enforce a ſtrict examination, I think we have gained a great deal; neither can I believe for my own part, that the Duke of Portland, and his friends the Cavendiſhes, noted as the Bourbons for good-nature, will bind themſelves to the reſentment of others, and join in the perſecution of a man who has rendered ſuch national ſervices; nor that they who formerly maintained the danger of violating chartered rights, will in the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament after getting into power, forget all the doctrines they have held on the ſubject reſpecting this very Company.

I therefore move, Sir, "That it is the opinion of this Court, that Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, and the other members of the Supreme Council, have diſplayed uncommon zeal, ability and exertion in the management of the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company during the late hoſtilities in India, particularly in ſupporting the war in the Carnatic, under ſo many preſſing difficulties, when that country was in danger of being loſt by the ſucceſsful irruption of Hyder Ally Cawn, aided by the French, and alſo for concluding the late treaty of peace with the Marattas, at a period ſo very critical, and on terms ſo honourable and advantageous to the permanent intereſts of the Company.

"Reſolved, therefore, That the thanks of this Court be given to Warren Haſtings, Eſq. and the other members of the Supreme Council, for the above ſpecified great and diſtinguiſhed ſervices; and that this Court doth requeſt the ſaid Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor General, not to reſign the ſtation he now holds, until the tranquillity of our poſſeſſions in India ſhall be reſtored, and the arrangements neceſſary upon the re-eſtabliſhment of peace ſhall have taken place."

Before I ſit down I hope the Court will indulge me in ſaying a few words on a ſubject, which I admit is ſomewhat extraneous to the preſent queſtion, while at the ſame time it naturally riſes from the occurrences I have mentioned in the debate.—The

ſubject

ſubject I allude to is the ſuſpenſion of General Matthews, after being inſtrumental in ſo glorious a degree to the conqueſt of Bednore and Mangalore. I am far from ſaying there may not be good cauſe for his ſuſpenſion; at the ſame time I declare, I am filled with every prejudice in his favour to induce me to think the contrary. I ſhall go farther, by ſaying that all the reaſons I have yet heard aſſigned in vindication of ſuch proceedings, fortifies me more and more in opinion, that they do not exiſt on any juſtifiable grounds.—This officer ſeems to me to have revived that ſpirit of irregular enterprize by which we acquired our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, and by which we muſt preſerve them.—It was more particularly applicable to the countries which he attacked where European armies had not before penetrated—The conduct of a General in ſuch proceedings can only be eſtimated by his ſucceſs. The ignorance of our adverſaries, the fear which our raſhneſs conveys to their mind, the enthuſiaſm the troops acquire in ſuch a career, are all to be eſtimated in the ſcale of our proceedings. Who can pretend to meaſure the conduct of Cortez by the ſcale of human prudence? We are told, that the cauſe of ſuperſeding General Matthews, is the ſtorming a number of forts which he might have marched round without loſing any of his troops; perhaps this was neceſſary both to intimidate the enemy and to encourage his own men, when they ſaw that ſuch fortifications could give no protection to the one, nor obſtruction to the other; perhaps a moment's delay in marching by detours

would have hazarded the main enterprize; in ſhort, I can imagine a thouſand ſituations which would render ſuch a conduct commendable, inſtead of being liable to any blame. Another charge is, that General Matthews had marched to the capital of Bidnour (Hydernagur) without proviſions or any ammunition, and thereby riſqued the whole army. This alſo is vindicated by his ſucceſs. He took the province, and has ſince conquered Mangalore. There are hardly any accounts of our tranſactions in the Eaſt which are more ſplendid, or of more conſequence, or which happened at a time more critical; and yet this officer is ſuperſeded and diſgraced, upon the complaint of ſome of his Majeſty's officers who would have proſecuted the war according to the more eſtabliſhed rules of their profeſſion.—I wiſh to pay every deference to his Majeſty's officers; I wiſh to ſhow them every attention that does not diminiſh the ſpirit of the Company's troops. They are both in their ſeveral ſtations, officers of the State, which has thought an incorporated Company the beſt mode of governing thoſe poſſeſſions, whoſe profits can only be made beneficial by the means of commerce; but, whenever the ſpirit of that ſervice ſhall be broken, or ideas ſhall go forth, that a man, becauſe he holds his Majeſty's commiſſion is neceſſarily more knowing than a perſon under the authority given to the Company, though the one may have ſeen many years of ſervice, while the other can claim no conſideration from experience; I ſay, that in ſuch a ſtate of things, it were better to ſurrender the charter

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at once than admit of ſuch maxims; and, therefore, as long as we hold the power, we muſt ſupport the perſons neceſſary for maintaining it, not in any partial conteſt between the King's troops and the Company's troops, but in an exact and equal diſtribution of juſtice on any diſpute that may ariſe between them; and this is all I ſhall ſay on ſubject at preſent, farther than adding, by way of recommendation, that no time may be loſt in rendering this juſtice to General Matthews.

When the Governor had finiſhed his ſpeech, the clerk read extracts from the public diſpatches, by which it appeared that the ſucceſſes of General Matthews had been moſt rapid and important: that he had taken Onore and Merghy, where he found a very conſiderable ſupply of naval ſtores belonging to Hyder Ally; and had burnt one ſixty-four gun ſhip, and two fifties, which were nearly compleated, beſides ſeveral ſmaller veſſels: that he afterwards entered the province of Bidnour, and took ſeveral forts — forced the paſſes to the capital, which ſurrendered to him upon terms in February laſt: and that Mangalore, the capital of Hyder's poſſeſſions on the Malabar coaſt, had ſince been taken by General Matthews. The clerk then read a letter from Mr. Anderſon to the Court of Directors, in which he ſtates that ſince the final ratification of the Maratta peace, he had made great progreſs in a ſeparate treaty of alliance with the Marattas againſt Tippoo Saib: and he next read an account of the

retreat of Tippoo Saib from the Carnatic, and that the British troops took possession of Arcot on the 13th of March. The supplies sent to Madras and Bombay since the commencement of the present war, by the Governor General and Council of Bengal, were, to Madras, about two hundred and ten lacks of rupees, and to Bombay, three hundred and thirty lacks, making above five hundred and forty lacks of rupees, or six millions sterling. The accounts farther stated, that the troops in the province of Oude had been paid to a day, and that there was a very considerable increase in the revenues.

Mr. *Dallas* rose to second the motion, but was prevented by Mr. Edward Moore, who desired to know if there were no other papers to read. He wished to ask the Chairman if he was not prepared with an answer to the very extraordinary letter which had been received from Mr. Hastings; and he wondered that that letter had not been read. That letter contained a direct charge against the Directors. Mr. Moore was proceeding, when he was called to order by Governor Johnstone, who said, that as the advices had been open for the inspection of the proprietors, he had not called for farther papers; and particularly that he thought there was no occasion to call for that letter, as it had been read at the last General Court, and consequently was before the proprietors; add to this, it had been printed in all the newspapers: but that the honourable gentleman might undoubtedly

undoubtedly move for the reading of any paper he thought proper.

General *Oglethorpe* defired to fpeak to order. He faid the Court had then a motion before them, which, as he underftood, a learned gentleman was ready to fecond; afterwards the honourable and worthy gentleman might undoubtedly move for the production of any paper he thought proper: but the General begged they would proceed in order, and that Mr. Dallas fhould be permitted to fecond the motion then before the Court.

Mr. *Dallas* then rofe, and feconded the motion, in words nearly to the following effect:—

Mr. Chairman,

I RISE to fecond the motion made by the honourable Governor; and in the difcharge of a tafk, fo grateful to my feelings, I fhall have occafion to take up but little of the time of the Court; becaufe I am fenfible, that it is not in my power to throw additional light upon a fubject which the honourable Governor has already placed in fo ftriking a point of view; and befides, that I hope, this is a motion which will meet with no oppofition. However much we may have differed upon former occafions, I truft that in the prefent inftance the Court will have but one feeling, and one voice.

At the ſame time that I ſay this, I ſhould be extremely ſorry if the object of the preſent motion were to be the reſult of ſenſeleſs unanimity, or careleſs indifference. I feel that we are ſoliciting for Mr. Haſtings, what to a mind independent like his, and above mean and baſe conſiderations, muſt be the moſt valuable reward, the approbation of his conſtituents, publicly and honourably expreſſed. I am aware, however, that the thanks of bodies of men have, of late, been proſtituted to ſuch unworthy purpoſes, that they can ſcarcely be conſidered as conferring honour or diſtinction; and that a man of real merit may turn away with contempt from an offering, which the empty profeſſions of every artful impoſtor never fail to obtain from a credulous and deluded public. But the thanks for which we move this day, muſt be founded upon great and meritorious ſervices, of which undeniable evidence is upon your table; and I truſt, that they will be offered and accepted as the effuſion of real gratitude, and the genuine tribute of the heart.

Before I enter upon the conſideration of the preſent motion, I muſt be permitted to look back to what paſſed upon a former occaſion, I mean that memorable day, when the manly and ſpirited interpoſition of this Court reſcued Mr. Haſtings from unjuſt obloquy and unmerited puniſhment; and by continuing him in his preſent ſtation, in oppoſition to the vote of the Court of Directors, enabled him, as the honourable Governor has pointedly obſerved, to perform

thofe fervices which, to-day, are the fubject of public congratulation. At that period of time our affairs, at beft, wore a doubtful afpect: we were engaged in a long and ruinous war, and had nothing but the affurances of Mr. Haftings, that peace would be foon reftored. Oppofed to thefe affurances were the confident declarations of men in high and refponfible fituations, that Mr. Haftings either deceived the Court of Proprietors, or was himfelf deceived upon the occafion. Yet upon a ballot, when notwithftanding, if there were no direct interference, yet the fenfe of adminiftration was fuppofed to be hoftile to Mr. Haftings; with the votes of the Directors in fupport of their own refolutions; with all their influence exerted among their friends and connections, and their authority exercifed over their dependants; with all the difappointed men, and perfonal enemies, which the long poffeffion of power can never fail to create: of upwards of twelve hundred Proprietors, only the miferable number of feventy-five could be collected together to vote for Mr. Haftings's removal. If fuch, at that time, were the fupport he received, will he be deferted, at the prefent day, by thofe whofe affiftance he then poffeffed; after he has brought our affairs to the moft favourable iffue; when hope is realized, and expectation fulfilled; and his conduct has completely juftified the confidence repofed in him?

But if any oppofition fhould arife to the prefent motion, I will ftate upon what grounds it appears to me

me that oppoſition muſt reſt. The motion conſiſts of two diſtinct propoſitions: the firſt, A vote of thanks to Mr. Haſtings and the other members of the Supreme Council for ſpecified ſervices; the ſecond, A requeſt to Mr. Haſtings, not to reſign his preſent ſtation until the tranquillity of our poſſeſſions in India ſhall be reſtored, and the arrangements neceſſary upon the eſtabliſhment of peace ſhall have taken place. Whoever reſiſts the firſt part of the motion, muſt either Deny the exiſtence of the facts which it aſſerts, or affirm, That they are not of a nature to entitle Mr. Haſtings and the members of the Supreme Council to thanks: and with reſpect to the ſecond part, undoubtedly, evidence to ſhew, That though in theſe particular inſtances Mr. Haſtings has deſerved well of the Company, yet his general conduct has been of a nature to render ſuch a requeſt improper, will be ground, upon which, if juſt, it ought to be oppoſed with ſucceſs.

With regard to the relief of the Carnatic, it is a circumſtance of public notoriety, a particular account of which is upon the table, and therefore a fact which I ſhall treat as beyond denial. It remains only to be conſidered, whether, and in what degree, that relief was owing to the Governor General, and the Supreme Council of Bengal.

Of the ample and extraordinary ſupplies ſent from time to time by the government of Bengal for the relief of the Carnatic, the paper which was read ſome time

time ago contains a detailed account, and affords irrefiftible evidence. Thefe fupplies have been furnifhed during a period of public diftrefs, and when the enemies of Mr. Haftings were loud in their affertions, that the refources of Bengal were not equal to the exigencies of its own government. An impoverifhed country, an exhaufted treafury, an army in arrear, the civil fervants unpaid, it was confidently predicted, could terminate in nothing lefs than difaffection in the provinces, revolt in the troops, impotence in the hour of foreign attack, rebellion among the civil fervants, in a word, in the ruin of the Eaft India Company's affairs. Yet notwithftanding the internal diftrefs of Bengal, a diftrefs unavoidably occafioned by a long and expenfive war, undertaken, as this court has already voted, in obedience to the pofitive commands of the Court of Directors, the exertions of that government enabled it to afford the relief you have heard ftated, and to preferve, within itfelf, tranquillity and peace. I admit the diftrefs of Bengal to have been great; but I contend, that in proportion to that diftrefs is the merit of the Supreme Council, in affording fupplies to the Carnatic, at a time when their own wants were of fo preffing a nature. In addition to the evidence you have already heard, I will beg leave to add the teftimony of thofe who were upon the fpot, and whofe fituations render them competent witneffes upon the occafion. General Stuart, in a minute recorded upon the Madras confultations, begs leave to diffent from a paragraph

 contained

contained in the general letter from that government to the Court of Directors, and which ascribes our success in the Carnatic to the good conduct of Lord Macartney, because he is convinced that it is owing to the gallantry of Sir Eyre Coote, and the unparallelled exertions of Mr. Hastings. Sir Eyre Coote himself, that great and gallant officer, who, with a handful of men, has triumphed over mighty nations, and achieved conquests, than which the page of history can afford none more brilliant, in a letter to the Supreme Council, imputes his success to the liberal support with which Mr. Hastings had furnished him. And here, let me draw the attention of the Court to a fact which will strongly enforce the propriety of the present motion. Sir Eyre Coote has received the thanks of the nation for the services he has performed in the Carnatic. We have his own authority, that these services were the consequences of the liberal supplies he received from Mr. Hastings. What then! Shall Sir Eyre Coote receive the thanks of his country for the services he has performed, and shall they be denied to Mr. Hastings, who enabled him to perform these services?

Allowing to the other members of the Supreme Council all the praise that zeal and ability employed in the public service deserve, the honourable Governor has informed the court, that to Mr. Hastings the relief of the Carnatic is most peculiarly to be ascribed. One fact alone will place this truth beyond doubt, and above contradiction.

The

The firft intelligence of the irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, was communicated to the Supreme Council at Bengal, with all thofe circumftances of diftrefs and horror which attended it, at a period when their own refources were in an exhaufted ftate, and when the long prevalence of internal difcord in the public Councils had relaxed all the fprings of Government. Terror confounded, defpair overwhelmed every ordinary mind. But the foul of Mr. Haftings was incapable of difpondence. The Council was affembled. With advice fuited to the occafion, he propofed, by a vigorous and daring effort, to afford the government of Madras, their only chance of fafety, and to fend them an immediate fupply of fifteen lacks of rupees, and a reinforcement of fix hundred and thirty Europeans, with Sir Eyre Coote to head the army. Thefe troops were to be tranfported by fea, at a feafon of the year when the navigation was fuppofed to be impracticable, and had been unattempted even by the adventurous fpirit of commerce. But what was the conduct of Mr. Francis upon the occafion? Inftead of propofing any meafures for the relief of the Carnatic, he trembled for the fafety of Bengal. The project of Mr. Haftings communicated frefh terrors to his breaft. He objected to the fupply of treafure, becaufe it was impoffible to forefee how foon their own government might ftand in need of it; and he oppofed the reinforcement of troops, becaufe it was inconfiftent with the fafety of Fort William. Let us retire into the citadel and defend ourfelves, was the advice of Mr. Francis.

Francis. Let us march out, and attack the enemy upon the confines, was the cry of Mr. Haſtings. In what ſituation would the Company's affairs have been, had the prudent counſels of the former gentleman prevailed? If Sir Eyre Coote, with this actual ſupply in money and troops at the time, and with additional ſupplies poured in occaſionally, could barely ſtem the tide of battle, and maintain his ground, what would have been his fate had he arrived upon the coaſt, without treaſure and without troops, to head a diſpirited army, againſt an enemy confident from victory, and fluſhed with ſucceſs? Was not the honourable Governor warranted to aſſert, that the relief of the Carnatic is peculiarly owing to the ſpirited conduct of Mr. Haſtings?

If ſuch were the peculiar merit of Mr. Haſtings in the relief of the Carnatic, let us conſider whether he has an excluſive claim to praiſe for his conduct, with reſpect to the Maratta peace. The firſt and immediate cauſe of that peace is generally admitted to have been the attack upon Mahdajee Scindia's dominions; and I will now ſtate to the court the hiſtory of that attack.

A minute entered upon the public conſultations of the 12th of June, 1780, in the ſecret department, and ſigned by Mr. Haſtings, after ſtating, in general terms, the probable advantages of activity in bringing the Maratta war to a concluſion, contains the following propoſal: — *Let it be given in*

inſtructions

inſtructions to Major Camac, if he ſhall find it practicable, to march his detachment, in conjunction with the forces, which the Ranna by his treaty will be obliged in ſuch a caſe to furniſh, directly to the capital of the territory dependent upon Mahdajee Scindia. This cannot fail to divert him from the war in Guzzerat; and by bringing it home to his own intereſts, which have hitherto been wholly exempted from it, induce him to be an equal ſolicitor for peace, to which at this time he appears to be the only impediment. — Whoever, with the knowledge of what has ſince happened, ſhall read this minute of Mr. Haſtings, and conſider the actual ſtate of affairs in India at the time, to him it will more reſemble the ſpirit of prophecy, than the efforts of a human mind from cauſes deducing their effects. It ſeems as if his penetrating eye had pierced into futurity. Inſpirited by the confidence of ſucceſs, he concludes this minute with more than his ordinary warmth, and conjures his colleagues in the moſt preſſing terms to concur with him in the meaſure, or, at leaſt, if they cannot concur, to deſiſt from oppoſing, and to leave to him all the reſponſibility, and the conſequences attending it. At length, kindling into enthuſiaſm, he adds, Would to God I could be anſwerable with my life for the conſequences! To thoſe who are acquainted with the character of Mr. Haſtings, this will not appear a vain-glorious boaſt; nor will they heſitate to believe that he would chearfully reſign, at the public call, a life, of which three and thirty years have conſtituted a ſeries of unremitted efforts for its ſervice.

Such

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Such was the minute which Mr. Haſtings deliver-ed in upon this occaſion. Succeſs, however, was not the conſequence; and Mr. Wheeler's name appeared to a minute, jointly with that of Mr. Francis, ſtating objections, and diſſenting from the meaſure. The enormous expence which would attend the expedition, was urged, among other rea-ſons, why it ought not to take place. And now, let me entreat the ſerious attention of thoſe who hear me to the conduct of Mr. Haſtings. In his anſwer given in to this minute, he obviates the objection of expence in a manner which will ſcarcely occur to any mind. I will quote, at length, the paſſage, for the honour of human nature — "As the expence which will attend the meaſure which I have recommended is the only formal objection made to it, I hope I may be allowed to remove it, by offering to exonerate the Company from it, and to take it upon myſelf. The contingencies of the detachment are the only expence that can reaſonably be charged to the expedition, Theſe I rate at far below two lacks of rupees.* That ſum I offer to contribute to this diſburſement. I have already depoſited it, within a ſmall amount, in the hands of the ſub-treaſurer; and I beg that the Board will permit it to be accepted for that ſervice." — Let the noiſy declaimers againſt eaſtern venality and cor-ruption ſtand forward, and produce, from the annals of their own times, a ſimilar inſtance of zeal for the public ſervice! Let the barefaced pretenders to pa-

* £ 25,000 ſterling.

triotic virtue, who daily ſtun the nation with their impudent profeſſions, exhibit, in the ſtory of their own lives — not an offer of ſervice in this extent — but any thing that reſembles the principle which gave birth to it! Of the numerous volumes produced by the Select Committee, and devoted to the purpoſes of foul accuſation, could not one page be reſcued from its odious fate, and conſecrated to the recital of ſuch an inſtance of exalted virtue? Did conſcience draw ſelf-degrading compariſons? I forbear to enquire into the motives which occaſioned this ſilence — But this much I will venture to predict, Though thought unworthy to be regiſtered in the dignified productions of the Select Committee, it will live in the public memory, long after their authors ſhall be laid in duſt, and themſelves, and their productions, equally forgotten.

This minute had the misfortune to experience a like fate with the former, and only drew from Meſſrs. Francis and Wheeler a laboured reply, in which they perſiſt in their oppoſition. I admit that reply to abound in plauſible and ingenious argument; in ſubtle objections, and refined diſtinctions. Neither do I mean to inſinuate, that it did not proceed from the conſcientious exerciſe of their judgement. In truth, it was a project to ſtagger every ordinary mind. Even the honourable gentleman who makes this motion, and who is not apt to be confounded by the boldneſs of any ſcheme, has declared upon a former occaſion, it would have ſtartled him. But it

is in the perilous conjuncture, and upon the desperate occasion, that the genius of Mr. Hastings asserts its superiority. While the gentlemen who opposed him were dismayed with the difficulties and dangers of this plan; alarmed at the distance of the expedition; terrified at its expence; with-holding the public treasure to provide for the last extremity; urging the possibility of an invasion of their own provinces, which would be left in a defenceless state: — Mr. Hastings felt that there were seasons when the public safety must be risked; and when upon the dangerous hazard of daring councils, depends the only remaining chance of success. — I turn away from the unhappy personal consequences, which afterwards followed from this minute, betwixt Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. — It is sufficient to say, the expedition at length took place. Every thing Mr. Hastings had predicted was verified in the event. *Mahdajee Scindia's camp was attacked with success*; *his attention was drawn off from the War in the Guzzerat to the defence of his own territories*; *he became a solicitor for peace*; and from the enemy whom we had most reason to dread, was converted into the friend in whom we had most cause to confide; and the faithful negociator, by whose interposition Mr. Hastings was enabled to accomplish the present peace.

In stating the minutes which passed upon this occasion, I hope it will not be imagined, that I mean any disrespect either to the name of Mr. Francis or Mr. Wheeler. I respect the abilities, and I regard the

integrity

integrity of Mr. Francis; but it is from the triumph over the oppoſition of ſuch abilities, that the character of Mr. Haſtings derives additional luſtre. With reſpect to Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Haſtings himſelf has borne the moſt honourable teſtimony to his private worth, and to his public merit.

Having ſtated, at ſome length, to the Court, the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, with reſpect to the attack upon Scindia's dominions, I have only one circumſtance more to mention, that regards this ſubject. The plan for a ſeparate peace with Scindia, after the ſucceſs of that attack, was dictated by Mr. Haſtings while upon the Benares expedition; ſubſequent to the aſſaſſination of the troops; all the horrors of that ſcene yet recent; the ground ſtill ſmoaking with the blood which had been ſhed; dangers encompaſſing his own perſon; a retreat to be effected with an inconſiderable eſcort through a country, which it was apprehended might riſe up in arms — at ſuch a time, diſregarding the dangers which ſurrounded him; his mind, calm and undaunted, was only employed upon projects for the public benefit; and he formed, and diſpatched to Colonel Muir, the plan of that ſeparate peace with Mahdajee Scindia, which has ſince conducted to a general pacification with all the Maratta powers. In the progreſs of the negotiation he had every difficulty to encounter. The moſt violent oppoſition upon the ſpot, was countenanced by the ſupport of the Court of Directors at home. The language which iſſued from this country, was of a

nature to difpirit Mr. Haftings, and render thofe, with whom he had to treat, imperious and impracticable. The neceffity of peace was ftated in the moft abject terms, and the deplorable fentiments entertained by thofe, who had the management of the Company's affairs, were circulated with active zeal through all the nations of Indoftan. Cenfures were aimed, and threats denounced againft Mr. Haftings. Every method was purfued to counter act his efforts, by leffening his perfonal weight and confequence. Yet under all thefe circumftances, without friends, and without fupport, obnoxious to the refentment of the Court of Directors, and conducting a war, the unavoidable expence of which had rendered it unpopular to the nation; he has manifefted through every part of this arduous negotiation, a firmnefs of mind which no circumftances could fhake; a fpirit proof againft the contagion of fear; and inftead of fuffering his conduct to be influenced by the oppofition he received, he has acted with the fame confidence, as if he had been backed with all the fupport the country could afford. *Not to have defpaired of the Commonwealth*, was, in Roman times, a fubject for public thanks. What praife then is due to him, by whofe fpirited conduct, through a long feafon of general defpondence, we have at length obtained a moft honourable and advantageous peace!

You all remember how confident were the predictions of Mr. Haftings's enemies, that the affurances of this peace were delufive and deceitful; with what

what contemptuous ſneers they treated our weak credulity, and ridiculed a belief which could only be occaſioned by the moſt profound ignorance. Theſe predictions muſt either have been the effect of intereſted malice, or of conſcientious belief. In the firſt caſe, it is in vain to urge the advantages of the preſent peace; for that malice will not be leſs inveterate, becauſe covered with ſhame; but in the latter, Mr. Haſtings muſt receive all the commendation liberal minds can beſtow. Such aſſertions were acknowledgments of the difficulties which ſtood in the way of a peace; and muſt now become teſtimonies to the merit of the man whoſe unparallelled exertions have removed theſe difficulties. What will they ſay who predicted *no* peace, to *ſuch* a peace? It ſeems the characteriſtic of Mr. Haſtings, not only to refute the malicious prognoſtics of his enemies, but to outdo the moſt extravagant predictions of his friends.

I have now, Sir, troubled the Court, very much at length, upon the former part of this motion; and I flatter myſelf no doubts remain, that the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, and the other members of the Supreme Council, is entitled to our thanks, in the two inſtances of the relief of the Carnatic, and of the Maratta peace. I have a few words to add with reſpect to the latter part of the motion, The requeſt to Mr. Haſtings not to reſign his government at the preſent period.

I have faid, that if evidence can be produced to fhew, That the general conduct of Mr. Haftings has been of a nature to render fuch a requeft improper, this part of the motion ought to be oppofed with fuccefs. What has been that general conduct?

The honourable gentleman who made the motion has already adverted to a report prepared by a committee of the Houfe of Commons, and which contains ferious accufations againft the conduct of Mr. Haftings. I rejoice that the honourable Governor has introduced this fubject, becaufe this is an occafion upon which it would have been unfair not to have adverted to a circumftance of fuch a nature, and befides, that the enemies of Mr. Haftings have circulated this report, during the recefs, with the moft malevolent affiduity, as a publication which, they flatter themfelves, will prove deftructive to his fame. It falls within my own experience that this publication has undoubtedly left impreffions unfavourable to Mr. Haftings upon honourable and impartial minds; and it is become incumbent upon his friends to prevent, as far as may be in their power, thefe prejudices from affecting the public opinion. It is true, that fubfequent to that report having been prefented to the Houfe, the intelligence arrived of the Maratta peace; a fervice of fo brilliant a nature, that the honourable Governor flatters himfelf, it will not only fhield Mr. Haftings from all farther profecution, but that thofe who have been moft vehement in his cenfure, will become

moſt earneſt in his praiſe. With his political experience, and ſound knowledge of mankind, can the honourable gentleman ſeriouſly entertain ſuch hopes? If great and meritorious ſervices, if unblemiſhed integrity, if virtuous conſiſtency of conduct, could have diſarmed his enemies, would Mr. Haſtings have endured the perſecution he has already undergone? It is, as the honourable Governor has truly ſtated it to be, A ſtruggle for power; and the ardour of thoſe engaged in it will only encreaſe from what has happened; their efforts will be violent in proportion as their ſituation is become deſperate. Againſt theſe efforts it becomes us to provide, and to afford Mr. Haſtings a ſupport, as honourable to ourſelves, as I hope it will prove beneficial to him.

An honourable gentleman (Mr. Moore) behind me, was very anxious, ſome time ſince, that a letter, dated the 20th of March, 1783, and addreſſed by Mr. Haſtings to the Court of Directors, ſhould be read to the court, and he charged the honourable Governor with partiality in having moved that ſuch papers only might be read as would conduce to the purpoſe of his motion, and holding back from the public view thoſe which might juſtify an oppoſition to it. Having made this attack upon the conduct of another, the honourable gentleman will permit me to enquire how far his own will ſtand examination. In anſwer to a queſtion put to him by the honourable Governor, the worthy Proprietor declared, that he had not read the Maratta treaty, the chief paper

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in ſupport of this motion, and which, one would imagine, not merely thoſe immediately intereſted, but every man not totally indifferent to public events, would have attentively conſidered. But yet, though this paper be ſo material to his information, and I take leave to add, indiſpenſable to his fair deciſion upon the ſubject, the honourable gentleman never moves for it, though it has not been read, but calls for another paper, which he thinks will criminate Mr. Haſtings. If he wiſhed for full information, he was equally bound to move for one paper as for the other; but if not to move for every paper be a proof of partiality, in the ſame ſentence in which he has urged the accuſation againſt another, he has incurred the guilt of it himſelf. Which be the moſt venial offence, a partiality to acquit, or a partiality to condemn? let the Court determine. Thus much with reſpect to the honourable gentleman's impartiality, and the temper with which he comes to the diſcuſſion of this queſtion. But, in truth, there is no foundation for the charge which he has preferred. With regard to the letter which he has mentioned, I myſelf would have ſeconded his motion, if I had not entertained too much regard for the time of the Court, to trouble them with the long reading of a paper, read, as the honourable Governor has ſtated, at a former Court, and inſerted in all the public prints. While ſublimity of thought, while dignity of ſentiment, and magnanimity of ſoul, can command admiration, this letter of Mr. Haſtings will ſtand in the foremoſt rank of the compo-

ſitions of the human mind. It is true, it does contain accuſation againſt the Court of Directors, and that accuſation ſtated in terms of reproach; but dictated by a generous abhorrence of crimes with which he ſtood falſely accuſed. It is the tone of inſulted honour; it is the language of injured virtue. Inſtead of kneeling to unmerited cenſures, and crouching to the menacing arm of power, Mr. Haſtings, with the boldneſs of conſcious innocence, turns upon his accuſers. Why did not the honourable gentleman call for the minute of the 14th of November, 1782, as a freſh proof of the haughty and imperious ſpirit of Mr. Haſtings? In that minute, after ſtating the unhappy effects which muſt neceſſarily reſult from the adminiſtration of a man, deprived of public confidence, and ſtripped of all ſupport, he dictates to the Court of Directors a ſpirited line of conduct, and conjures them immediately to confirm or recal him. He enforces the neceſſity of coming to ſome inſtant reſolution, for that either part of the alternative is ſafety, when compared with the miſchiefs which muſt reſult from an unſettled government.

Theſe were ſentiments ſuited to the bold and manly ſpirit of the right honourable Secretary of State (Mr. Fox;) and immediately upon the receipt of this minute, he declared in the Houſe of Commons, that whoever had read the laſt diſpatches from India, muſt be convinced of the abſolute neceſſity, that ſomething ſhould immediately be done.

A ſhort

A ſhort time afterwards he informed the Houſe, that nothing but reaſons of neceſſity could juſtify delay in the buſineſs; that ſuch reaſons exiſted; and among others, the Select Committee, he underſtood, had prepared a report, big with material information upon the ſubject, and neceſſary to enable the Houſe to determine wiſely upon the occaſion. In ſo urgent a conjuncture, the world will naturally expect that report to contain nothing but material information; and if it ſhall appear to have been delayed till near the riſing of the Houſe, from the inveſtigation of frivolous charges, and the inſertion of unimportant matter, whoever has thus delayed it, has trifled with the ſecurity of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India. But if farther it ſhall be evident, that the aim of this report is more the deſtruction of an individual, than the advancement of the public good; be the author of it whom he may, he is a traitor to his truſt.

This report, big with the fate of India, has at length appeared; and I will venture to ſay, it is a production different, in its nature, from any which have preceded it. The world has hitherto been accuſtomed to conſider a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, as in the nature of a Court of Juſtice; the members of which, though bound by no religious tie, are under the moſt ſacred moral obligations to diveſt themſelves, as far as poſſible, of every corrupt view, partiality, and reſentment; to enquire temperately, and report diſpaſſionately. How far this

this duty has been obferved in the prefent inftance, the world will determine. It is the firft report of a Committee of the Houfe of Commons, (and I appeal to the Journals of the Houfe, and to the experience of every man converfant with parliamentary bufinefs) in which ridicule, irony, and invective, are made ufe of as the means to criminate individuals, and perfuade the Houfe. A practice of fo unjuftifiable a nature, will, I truft, produce no other effect than to alarm thofe who are ultimately to decide; and will draw their attention to a more ftrict examination of the evidence, when they have difcovered the temper with which the report is prepared. In this examination, I affert in the face of the world, they will detect infinuation without ground; affertion without proof; facts without evidence; language unwarrantably conftrued; unjuft inferences; and unfair conclufions. Thefe are bold accufations, and I do not expect credit for them. I am not entitled to it. In every cafe the impartial mind muft be determined by the greater degree of probability; and I confefs it is infinitely more probable that I, from mifconception, from officious zeal, from blind attachment, or, if you pleafe, from unworthy motives, fhould prefer fuch charges, than that a right honourable gentleman fhould prepare, and a Committee of the Houfe of Commons approve, a report fubject to them. But I throw out this warning to the world in the name of an abfent man. The only effect I wifh to produce by it is, that whoever fhall read the charges contained in this report, may likewife read the evi-

dence in ſupport of them; and that no man who has not done this, will form an opinion upon the report unfavourable to Mr. Haſtings. This requeſt I am entitled to obtain, not merely on account of the aſſertions I have made, but becauſe it is reaſonable in itſelf; and I make it the more earneſtly, from the certain knowledge, that many minds have already been prejudiced by reading the report without a reference to the evidence. Let them be compared with each other, and the character of Mr. Haſtings will ſuſtain no injury. The poiſon and the antidote will be taken in together.

But, after all, what does this black catalogue contain? Stale accuſations, and exploded charges. Nine years have elapſed from the date of moſt of theſe ſuppoſed offences. The affair of Meſſrs. Briſtow and Fowke is once more revived. The reſignation by Mr. Macleane is renewed with every circumſtance of aggravation. The charge of corruption made in times of the greateſt political virulence, of which the acrimony of contention could explore no proof, and which was afterwards abandoned by thoſe who had preferred it, is again attempted, and held forth to public view, No tale is too improbable; no teſtimony too baſe. Even the gibbet muſt produce an evidence againſt him, and the infamous name of Nuncomar once more offend the ſight. The honourable Governor has particularly adverted to the charge of the Opium contract given to Mr. Sulivan. This contract was held by Mr. Sulivan upon the ſame

terms

terms it had been poffeffed by other perfons, and this was the manner in which (while General Clavering and Mr. Francis fat at the Supreme Board) thofe terms were fettled. It was put up to public advertifement, and of twelve competitors, beftowed upon him who offered the loweft terms. But Mr. Sulivan was the fon of a gentleman who had eight times filled the Chair of the India Company, the private friend, and the public fupporter of Mr. Haftings, and the aim of the charge is, that it was given as a means of future influence, or as the reward of paft attachment, to a gentleman whofe fituation in the fervice did not entitle him to it. I will admit the full effect of the charge, and abandon Mr. Haftings to the cenfure which he merits upon the occafion. It was referved for the accufer of Mr. Haftings to exhibit, upon his acceffion to power, fplendid inftances of difintereftednefs and felf-denial; to refift the claims of kindred and of blood, in favour of thofe who had claims upon the public! But thefe are not the feelings of common men. Mr. Haftings is a common man! fubject to all the frailties and infirmities of human nature; to the impulfe of friendfhip where it may be indulged without material detriment to the public fervice; to the feelings of gratitude, where public duty does not rigoroufly forbid him to give way to them. Indeed, indeed, thefe are pitiful accufations! If the character of Mr. Haftings is not of a fufficient polifh to caft off fuch ftains as thefe, it is time the right honourable gentleman's purpofes fhould be fulfilled, and Mr. Haftings re-

 called.

called. Which of thefe charges might not have been, with fafety, deferred, till Mr. Haftings was upon the fpot to explain his own conduct? If it be faid that a fcrutiny into that conduct was neceffary to confirm or recal him, and that the fafety of the Britifh poffeffions in India materially depended upon the alternative, I anfwer, That the great charges of violation of treaties, of breach of national faith, of oppreffion of the native princes — any one of thefe charges, if true, was a a fufficient ground for his recal, and to enter into the confideration of the others was fuperfluous; if none of thefe charges were true, the others could only weigh as duft in the fcale againft him.

But, at leaft, this rigid fcrutiny will prove the temper in which his conduct is inveftigated. With what feelings will the Houfe receive fo many volumes devoted to crimination; in which every trifling fault is blazoned in the moft glaring colours, while a veil is caft over his merits and his fervices, and virtues which have won the refpect, and fecured him the efteem of mankind, are paffed over in profound filence, and treated with utter neglect. The world have now evidence before them to determine, how far that honourable gentleman was right, who declared, That though a member of the Select Committee, he had not attended their meetings, becaufe he had early difcovered fuch fymptoms of prejudice and party-fpirit, that he was convinced their proceedings muft terminate in injuftice.

In

In what I have ſaid upon this ſubject, it has not been my intention to enter into an inveſtigation of the charges themſelves, becauſe I feel this is not the proper time, but to obviate the prejudices which the enemies of Mr. Haſtings have been induſtrious to excite. The day of trial muſt come, when the Houſe muſt either expreſs their diſapprobation of theſe charges, or ſuffer Mr. Haſtings to vindicate his character. The terms of Oppreſſor and public Robber muſt be retracted or proved. The right honourable gentleman ſtands pledged, in the face of God and his country, to prove Mr. Haſtings, The moſt notorious delinquent that ever exiſted in India. I truſt he has too much honour to conſider his exalted ſtation, as an eminence, from which, himſelf ſafe, and beyond reach, he may ſhower down upon the heads of others the deſtructive weapons of detraction and calumny. He will afford Mr. Haſtings an opportunity to meet his charge. But if unfortunately I ſhould prove miſtaken, the Houſe has too much honour, the Nation has too much juſtice, to endure ſuch conduct. Yes, the day muſt come, when the Governor General ſhall meet the right honourable gentleman in the face of God and of his country. To that day his friends look forward with eager hope. He himſelf has deſired to reſt the iſſue upon the moſt manly and ſpirited alternative, Reſtore me my Honour, or, Deprive me of my Life. His letter to the Court of Directors contains language to this effect, I am not guilty of the crimes which you have laid to my charge; but if I am, Away with your cold and

and pitiful cenfures, I deferve to die. This is the language of a man. In the mean time, let the world determine, Whether it is moft probable, that they have preferred a falfe accufation, who to offences of fuch magnitude affign fo inadequate a punifhment, or that he is innocent of them, who entertains fuch an abhorrence of the accufation, that he difclaims, in cafe he fhall be found guilty, the lenity they would fhew, and challenges the utmoft punifhment which human vengeance can inflict.

I fear, Sir, I have taken up a great deal too much of your time, upon a fubject which the abilities of the honourable gentleman who made the motion had nearly exhaufted. It is unneceffary for me to add, after the fentiments I have profeffed, that every part of the motion has my moft hearty concurrence. The requeft to Mr. Haftings to continue in Bengal until the arrangements neceffary upon the eftablifhment of peace fhall have taken place, is no lefs founded in advantage to ourfelves than in gratitude to him. Three and thirty years of his life have paffed away in the Company's fervice. The experience of fo long a period is an advantage which he muft poffefs over every competitor. At an early age, his great abilities attracted the notice of Lord Clive, who appointed him Refident at the Durbar, a ftation, in which, it is generally known, he might have accumulated immenfe wealth. Yet after fixteen years of fervice he returned to England with a fortune fo moderate, that he was obliged to go back to India, and went out with

the appointment of ſecond in Council at Madras: a ſufficient proof of his great integrity. The knowledge of his abilities, and the opinion of his virtue, induced the Court of Directors to appoint him, while in this ſtation, to ſucceed to the Government of Bengal. Twelve years have paſſed ſince he has filled this arduous ſtation; not in times of tranquillity and eaſe, but of turbulence and diſtraction. He has not, indeed, as the honourable Governor obſerved, repoſed upon a bed of down; but (the honourable Governor will permit me to add) upon a pillow induſtriouſly planted with thorns. And ſhall we not ſupport him now that times more fortunate are arrived? Previous to the commencement of the oppoſition in Bengal, and during the two firſt years of his government, he had made material improvements in the internal adminiſtration of the Provinces entruſted to his care, and had in ſeveral inſtances received the commendatian of the Court of Directors. Now that peace is returned, and that unanimity prevails, he will purſue thoſe improvements to their utmoſt pitch of advantage. Poſſeſſing ſo many requiſites which can concur in no other man, to make the neceſſary eſtabliſhments upon the return of peace, and to ſettle the Government upon a permanent baſis, there is every reaſon to hope his plans will be founded in wiſdom, and productive of material benefit; and that he may be enabled to purſue this deſirable work, I moſt ſincerely ſecond the honourable gentleman's motion.

Mr.

Mr. *More* repeated his queſtion.

Sir *Henry Fletcher* obſerved, that the letter of Mr. Haſtings to the Court of Directors had been publiſhed in all the papers, and undoubtedly it contained charges which required that the Directors ſhould enquire into the grounds of their conduct, and ſee if they could not juſtify it. He had done ſo — he had moſt carefully examined the records, and he had ſubmitted the reſult to the Court of Directors, which was, in his own mind, a complete juſtification of their conduct. He certainly was at one time of opinion that peace would not have been made with the Marattas, for this reaſon; three diſtinct and contradictory negociations were opened — General Goddard ſent Captain Watherſton to the Court of Poona; another negociation was opened with the Rajah of Berar; and the third with Madajee Scindia. But on the death of Hyder Ally, and the concluſion of the war between England and France, he foreſaw that the peace with the Marattas would be concluded — he ſaid it at the time — and therefore the Marratta peace was not ſolely to be aſcribed to the talents of Mr. Haſtings, a part of the buſineſs muſt be allowed to the concatenation of events.

But to the queſtion before the Court — In his mind it would be wiſe and temparate to enquire into the grounds of merit before they gave praiſe. To praiſe firſt, and to enquire into the propriety of do-

ing ſo afterwards, was neither dignified in the Court, nor honourable to the Governor General. Now there were certain points that muſt be enquired into — points which were not only very queſtionable, but ominous. For inſtance, by a reſolution of the Council of Bengal, it appears on the records, that it was determined to give to Madajee Scindia one half of the city and territory of Broach. The offer of one half of it was made to him — but after the concluſion of the treaty with the Marattas, the whole was given up to him in a preſent without any reaſon being aſſigned, without any claim being made, without a ſingle word being ſaid to juſtify or explain the matter.

Broach produced a revenue, according to the laſt valuation at Bombay, ſixteen lacks of rupees, which is two hundred thouſand pounds. Thus hath the Governor General paid the enormous price of two hundred thouſand pounds a year for this boaſted peace with the Marattas. This was not all; on the very morning that the treaty was ratified, a private treaty was ſigned between Scindia and the Miniſter of the Marattas with ſo much ſecreſy, that Mr. Anderſon has not been able to come to the knowledge of it; and it was therefore a reaſonable concluſion, that an engagement, made in ſo queſtionable a ſhape, was hoſtile to the Company. In addition to this, the Court of Directors had received a letter from Mr. Hornby, informing them, that ſince the treaty with the Marattas, one of our ſhips, on board of which

were two officers of rank, who were going to an important command, was taken, and the officers were forcibly detained. Did this bear the aſpect of a cordial peace? And would it not be proper to enquire into thoſe particulars, before they come to the reſolution of thanks propoſed by the honourable Commodore? Sir Henry replied to ſeveral other of the matters thrown out; and in particular, he ſaid, that againſt two of the officers choſen and appointed by Mr. Haſtings, ſuch charges were exhibited, that they were ordered to Calcutta to explain their conduct.

Mr. *Sulivan.*

I CANNOT ſuffer what has fallen from the Chairman to paſs without a reply from behind the bar, leaſt it ſhould be ſuppoſed he has uttered the ſentiments of the Court of Directors. I am ſorry to ſee Mr. Haſtings treated ſo ungenerouſly. Surely it is a Chairman's duty to act impartially; but, inſtead of that, Sir Henry has not produced one inſtance out of a thouſand of Mr. Haſtings's great merits. Nothing but laboured invectives and groſs miſrepreſentations againſt the Governor General. For my own part, I revere the memory of thoſe immortal heroes, (turning to the ſtatues of Clive and Lawrence) although one of them was my inveterate enemy; but have they done more ſervice to the Company than Mr. Haſtings? What was the ſituation of the Company's

pany's affairs when Mr. Haſtings ſucceeded to the government of Bengal in 1772? We were on the eve of a bankruptcy; and by the year 1775 he had encreaſed your property three millions eight hundred and thirty-nine thouſand pounds. What has he received in return? Not even thanks! And lately, when by a plan entirely his own, he has produced you a revenue of ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year, your Directors are ſilent, and actually blame him for appointing two or three extra men, who are to collect the duties which are paid into your coffers. Of what conſequence is it whether Mr. Haſtings employs three, or thirty-three negociators, when he has brought the treaty to a concluſion. I am aſhamed to reply to ſo frivolous a remark. The Chairman tells you he doubts the permanency of the peace, becauſe a ſecret article has been ſigned by the Marattas and Sindia, on the day the peace was ratified; yet you have intelligence from Mr. Anderſon, of a later date by a month, in which he ſpeaks confidently of the good faith of Sindia, and the Peſhwa; and that he has made great progreſs in a treaty of alliance with the Peſhwa and Sindia, againſt Tippoo Saib. I beg the Court will conſider from what quarter the Chairman receives his intelligence, and then they will conceive this to be as defective as that which he before received from Bombay. When the Fox packet arrived, which brought accounts that the ratified treaty was received in Sindia's camp, the Chairman brought a letter to us from an officer in Colonel Morgan's camp to Mr. Gregory, dated the 2d

 of

of laſt April. This mentioned that a large body of Marattas were preparing to enter the Guzzerat, and to attack Surat. At another time, when Mr. Haſtings wrote, that he was poſitive the peace with the Marattas would be concluded, if it was not ſo at that moment, our worthy Chairman damped our hopes by producing a letter from Bombay, ſaying that all hopes of peace were at an end; and that a large body of Marattas were preparing to enter the Concan. I would be glad to know what became of theſe great armies that were to invade the Concan and the Guzzerat? We have never heard a ſyllable more about them. I declare I am fully warranted, from what has happened, to with-hold my belief of any intelligence tranſmitted from Bombay, except the Governor and Council will vouch for the truth of the facts. But every idle tale of armies aſſembled, officers taken, no proſpect of peace, &c. &c. that we have hitherto received from private letters, ſent from ignorant natives in different parts of the Malabar coaſt, has turned out untrue. No wonder, however, that ſuch reports gained credit from thoſe, who, by their own letter to Bengal, expreſs a hope that the death of Hyder will make an alteration in the Maratta treaty, if not then ratified at Poona: and no wonder that the Bombay government catches hold of every ground, however ſlight, by which they expect to be able to retain their conqueſts. Such conduct is natural; and no wonder, Mr. Chairman, that thoſe gentlemen in this country, who are adverſe to Mr. Haſtings, adopt greedily, for facts, every report that tends

tends to diminiſh the luſtre of that great man's character. With reſpect to Mr. Haſtings, I avow, with pleaſure, my friendſhip for him; — I think him the beſt ſervant the Company ever had, and that we owe our ſalvation to his wonderful and unparallelled exertions: — I have not a doubt that he will explain fully and ſatisfactorily his reaſons for giving up Broach to Madajee Sindia: and ſo far from producing the Company ſixteen lacks of rupees annually, I totally deny that it has ever produced them ſix, or any thing like it; and I am convinced it was a wiſe meaſure to cede it altogether.

Major *Scott.*

Sir Henry Fletcher,

I RISE to offer a few obſervations upon what you have been pleaſed to ſtate to the Court; but before I proceed, I muſt beg leave to clear up a point which the Proprietors may miſconſtrue, if it is not now explained. You were pleaſed to obſerve, Sir, that Mr. Haſtings had been miſtaken in his judgment of two gentlemen whom he had patronized, in oppoſition to the orders of the Court of Directors. It might poſſibly be inferred, that Mr. Markham was one of thoſe whoſe conduct Mr. Haſtings had diſapproved of: I hope I may be permitted therefore, in juſtice to the character of Mr. Markham, whom I am proud to call my friend, to declare, that Mr. Haſtings has invariably mentioned that gentleman in terms of the greateſt

greateſt regard, and has particularly praiſed him for his abilities, the pointed attention he has paid to his orders, and to the duties of his ſtation, while reſident at Benares. It is true he has removed Mr. Middleton; and here, Sir, I think every candid man will allow, that the conduct of Mr. Haſtings appears in the faireſt point of view. Mr. Middleton was the perſon of his own choice in 1773. He continued reſident at the court of Sujah Dowlah, till the majority of the Supreme Council removed him. He was again ſent up to Oude, at the death of Colonel Monſon, and was lately recalled, becauſe Mr. Haſtings thought he had not exerted himſelf as he might have done in the ſervice of the Company. Surely, Sir, this is as ſtrong an inſtance as can be given, that Mr. Haſtings is not ſwayed by perſonal friendſhip, or any improper motives in his ſupport of gentlemen in public ſtations. You have ſaid, too, that you had long entertained doubts of the Maratta peace being effected, becauſe Mr. Haſtings had employed three negociators; one at Poona, Captain Watherſton; another at Naigpoor, Mr. Chapman; and a third at the court of Sindia, Mr. Anderſon. It is clear, however, that Mr. Haſtings thought three negociators at leaſt one too many, for he recalled Captain Watherſton at the very time that he ſent thoſe inſtructions in a quill to Colonel Muir, which brought about a peace with Sindia. They were diſpatched from Chunar, when his own perſon was in danger, and encompaſſed by the troops of Cheyt Sing. It does not appear, Sir, that the deputation of Mr. Chapman

Chapman to Moodagee Boofla, impeded the negociation of Mr. Anderfon; on the contrary, it was of material fervice. Peace with the Marattas was the object to be attained; it might poffibly have been accomplifhed at Naigpoor, had it failed with Madajee Sindia. You have faid too, that latterly, indeed, you did expect peace would be concluded with the Marattas, on account of the death of Hyder Ally, and the general peace in Europe. You added too, that you had fubmitted your fentiments to the Directors upon it fome time ago; but what was the period when you did fubmit thefe fentiments to the Directors? Was it not after the arrival of the Fox packet? And did not that packet bring an account that the peace was ratified at Poona the 20th of December, arrived in Sindia's camp the 14th of January, and was to be interchanged the firft fortunate day? To be fure, Sir, it was a proof of fuperior fagacity, to foretel that the peace, under fuch circumftances, would take place. If the paragraphs were dated prior to the Fox's arrival, why were they brought forward at all, when, by the intelligence then received, you knew that our affairs were fo materially altered? I thought this mode of proceeding was peculiar to the Select Committee. There was not the moft diftant idea in India of a peace in Europe, when the treaty was ratified on the 20th of December, nor even when the laft accounts left Bengal; and as Hyder died on the 7th, it was barely poffible that intelligence of his deceafe fhould have reached Poona before the ratification of the treaty. Be that

however

however as it may, hoſtilities with the Marattas had ceaſed eighteen months, owing to the ſeparate treaty with Sindia, and the merit of that treaty ſolely and excluſively belongs to Mr. Haſtings. You have obſerved too, that Mr. Haſtings ceded to Sindia a territory producing ſixteen lacks of rupees a year, and as a proof, you bring an eſtimate of the revenues of Broach. But though I am not verſed in matters of revenue myſelf, yet my honourable friend behind me, (Mr. Baber) who perfectly underſtands the ſubject, will tell you, that it is from actual receipts, and not from eſtimates, that we muſt count our gains. If, Sir, you place againſt the receipts of the laſt year, the expence of the civil and military eſtabliſhments neceſſary for its defence, I imagine you will find that Broach, inſtead of ſixteen lacks, has not yielded you a nett profit of ſixteen thouſand rupees. Do you recollect that the Poona Committee engaged the faith of the Company for the ceſſion of Broach to Sindia? And that although the Supreme Council denied the Company could poſſibly be bound by an irregular act, yet that Sindia, having ſaved our army, was entitled to particular attention from us. In conſideration of the engagement entered into by the Poona Committee, and the ſervices ſince performed by Sindia, the Supreme Council have entirely ceded Broach to him; and by ſo doing I think they have acted wiſely; for the half of Broach, in our poſſeſſion, the other half in the poſſeſſion of the Marattas, collections of each party being fre-

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quently in the ſame village, I am clear we could not have kept one-half of the diſtrict, without involving the Company in a future war. I entirely adopt Mr. Francis's ſentiments on this ſubject, who has invariably oppoſed the acquiſition of detached territories on the Malabar coaſt, becauſe the revenues never can pay the expence of collecting them, and tend to involve us in conſtant diſputes with the Marattas. With reſpect to the ſecret articles, I do not know the intelligence on which your knowledge of the fact is grounded; but this I know, that Mr. Anderſon writes with the utmoſt confidence as to the ſincerity of the Marattas; and I will pay more attention to him than to looſe, imperfect information from Bombay, which has ſo often, and ſo fatally deceived us already. You ſeem to expreſs your doubts, Mr. Chairman, of the validity of the peace, becauſe two officers, who were on their way to Mangalore, were taken in a ſmall veſſel by the Marattas; but I deſire to bring to your recollection, Sir, that a ſhip, called the Aurora, was wrecked upon the Malabar coaſt, ſoon after the ſigning of Colonel Upton's treaty in March 1776, and though one article of that treaty was, that the cargoes of ſhips ſo wrecked ſhould be reſtored; no ſatisfaction whatever was received, and the Marattas declared that they could not controul the piratical free-booters who infeſted their coaſts: a fact we all know. You will find, I dare ſay, Sir, that thoſe officers and their property have been reſtored long ago, and ample ſatisfaction given for their cap-

tures,

tures, fuppofing they really were taken, for the intelligence is not pofitive.

I now come, Sir, to the revolution of Benares, and as the honourable and worthy gentleman, Mr. Moore, has called for your obfervations upon Mr. Haftings's letter, I muft beg leave to ftate a few facts, which perhaps are not generally known to the proprietors. The revolution of Benares was, as you well know, Sir, eagerly feized hold of by the Select Committee in the month of April 1782, when a very imperfect account of the tranfaction was received in England. In the fecond report the committee fay, " that Cheyt Sing was patronized by us, in confequence of fervices rendered to our nation by his father." I have fearched with all the induftry I am capable of, but have not yet been able to find of what nature thefe fervices were; but I do find from the following extracts from the records of the Eaft-India Company, that the governor and council had ferioufly determined to difpoffefs Bulwant Sing, the father of the late Rajah, of his country. The Governor and Council, in their inftructions to Major Monro, dated the 6th of November, 1764, fays, " With refpect to Bulwant Sing, the double part he acted in the beginning of the war, fufficiently warns us, to put no confidence in him; and, therefore, if he has not already been permitted to join you, or you have entered into no engagements with him, we would have him difpoffeffed of his country, and his perfon, if poffible, fecured." April 1, 1765. " This man acted from the firft fo

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wavering a part, that we wiſhed to have no connection with him; but rather that his perſon ſhould be ſecured, and ſome other placed in his Zemindary, who was more to be relied on; but Major Monro having committed him to a treaty, we conſented to abide by it. In this alſo he failed; and therefore it was our intention to have truſted him no farther, which ſentiment is expreſſed by the General in his letter from Coſſinbuzar, where he points him out as one by no means to be depended upon. After Bulwant Sing had deſerted our army, in violation of the treaty, it was our wiſh, that the country had been placed in the hands of ſome perſon in whoſe fidelity we might have had ſome dependence, and whoſe troops might have been an addition to our ſtrength, in caſe of a renewal of the war; but as he had been again received on the faith of promiſes, though we wiſh none had been made till our ſentiments were known, we ſhall abide by them."

As Bulwant Sing was ſituated between two powerful ſtates, his indeciſive and treacherous conduct is not to be wondered at; but I mention it, in contradiction to the report of the Select Committee, which ſtates, that he had performed ſervices to our nation, without ſpecifying what thoſe ſervices were. They muſt have been conſiderable, to have counterbalanced the inſtances of inſincerity and diſaffection which I have mentioned.—The late Lord Clive thought it, however, conſiſtent with true policy to protect Bulwant Sing from the vengeance of his old

mafter Sujah Dowlah, who was compelled by the treaty of Allahabad, to continue him in the poffeffion of the Zemindaries of Benares and Ghauzipore. When Bulwant Sing died in 1770, our government interfered in the behalf of Cheyt Sing, his father's favourite, though, as Capt. Harper obferved at that time, he was not, according to the Hindoo Laws, the lineal heir, being born by a woman of a low caft, and he was in fact confirmed in poffeffion of the Zemindary in violation of the right of the prefent poffeffor, fuppofing the Zemindary to have been hereditary in the family of Bulwant Sing, a fact which I have never been able to afcertain, though the Select Committee fcruple not to affert, that it had defcended to him from many generations. Cheyt Sing continued in the peaceable poffeffion of the Zemindary from 1770 to 1775, when the fovereignty of Benares, without any conditions fpecified in his favour, was transferred to the Company; and this again proves another error the Select Committee have fallen into, who fay that it was transferred, fubject as heretofore to the entire rule and management of Cheyt Sing. When I fay Cheyt Sing was continued in the peaceable poffeffion of his Zemindary from 1770 to 1775, I beg to obferve, that in that period he was called upon repeatedly for military affiftance by the Vizier, and that he conftantly furnifhed it independent of his annual rent, in conformity to the cuftom of the Mogul empire, as will appear by the following extract of a letter from Cheyt Sing to the Governor General, "The great

burthen of expence I laboured under from the time of the deceafe of the late Rajah, till the expiration of the Nabob Vizier's authority over me, is well known to God and your Excellency." In this letter Cheyt Sing undoubtedly alludes to the military aid he was bound to furnifh the Vizier. From 1775 to 1778, Cheyt Sing continued an obedient fubject to the Company. The Governor General and Council yielded to him the Cutwally and the Mint; but told him, that if he debafed the coin, he fhould be fubject to a fevere fine, and to *any other penalty they might think proper to impofe.* The Supreme Council aware of the importance of Benares, wrote as follows to the Court of Directors on the 7th of Auguft, 1775: "You will obferve, that the ceffion of the whole Zemindary of Cheyt Sing, with all the *powers and rights annexed to it*, is made immediately to the Eaft-India Company." Now, Sir, I would be glad to know what meaning you would affign to the terms *powers* and *rights*, and what they could mean, but the rights of fovereignty, of which the power of calling forth the military in time of need is furely the firft and the moft important — The letter I allude to was figned by all the Council, and General Clavering. Colonel Monfon and Mr. Francis in a feparate letter fay, that to them is due the credit of obtaining this important ceffion for the Eaft-India Company, entire and complete, and not held as Bengal is, by grant from the Mogul, as Duans.

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I moſt earneſtly entreat the attention of the Court to the following circumſtances.

Our army continued on a peace eſtabliſhment, from 1775 to July the 9th, 1778, and no military aſſiſtance was demanded from the Rajah. On that day intelligence being received of a war with France, it was determined by the Supreme Council to encreaſe our army very conſiderably, and to form a marine eſtabliſhment for the defence of the Ganges — Upon conſidering from what funds theſe additional expences were to be defrayed, Mr Haſtings propoſed, " that Cheyt Sing be required in form, to contribute his ſhare of the burthen of the preſent war, by conſenting to the eſtabliſhment of three regular battalions of Sepoys, to be raiſed and maintained at his expence." Mr. Francis acquieſced, but thought the demand ſhould only be continued during the preſent war — Mr. Wheler agreed, wiſhing to avoid the queſtion of right — Mr. Barwell agreed, ſuppoſing an acquiſition of revenue and military force to have been annexed to the grant of the Zemindary. Mr. Haſtings then adds, " He deems it a right inherent in every government. to impoſe ſuch aſſeſſments as it judges expedient for the common ſervice and protection of all its ſubjects." And adds, " *we are not precluded from it by any agreement ſubſiſting between the Rajah and this government.*" The Rajah was written to, promiſed obedience; but having afterwards eluded his promiſe, the ſubject was again brought before the Board on the 28th of September, 1778: when

when Mr. Haſtings obſerved, "the evaſive conduct of the Rajah was owing to his having been adviſed to procraſtinate payment, on a ſuppoſition that a total change would take place in the government of Bengal, which would produce a repeal of the demand." On this occaſion the point of right was fully diſcuſſed; Mr. Francis expreſſed his doubts as to the juſtice of the demand, and he quoted a paragraph of Mr. Fowke's inſtructions, who was directed to inform the Rajah when he was inveſted with his Kellaut, "that ſo long as he adhered to his engagements, the Company would never demand any augmentation of the annual tribute which might be fixed." Mr. Haſtings's obſervation in reply was very remarkable; he ſays "the quotation from Mr. Fowkes' inſtructions related only to the *fixed and annual revenue*, but could never be underſtood *to preclude that right, which every government inherently poſſeſſes, to compel all its dependencies to contribute, by extraordinary ſupplies, to the relief of extraordinary emergencies*. The Board then determined to enforce the demand; and the money was paid. The minutes of theſe proceedings were tranſmitted to England; the ſubject was mentioned in the general letter, and the whole were received at the India Houſe in April and May 1779. It is ſomething extraordinary that a ſubject of ſuch importance, in which there had been a difference of opinion, ſhould never have drawn a line from the Directors. What is the concluſion — that they approved of the demand, but not being at that time, in the habit of expreſſing

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their approbation of any act originating with Mr. Haſtings, except that ſingle one of *marching a detachment acroſs India*, they were ſilent on the ſubject. Had the Directors thought the demand unjuſt; had they ſaid, we differ from the Governor General's idea of the rights of ſovereignty, and we think you have no claim upon Cheyt Sing, except for his annual tribute, the revolution of Benares could not have happened. The fact is, as you well know, that Acquieſcence at that time was Approbation—But what follows is ſtill more extraordinary: On the 19th of July, 1779, the war ſtill continuing, Mr. Haſtings propoſed " that Cheyt Sing be again called upon to contribute his five lacks to the ſupport of the increaſed eſtabliſhment." The motion was unanimouſly agreed to, the Board being then complete by the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote. Cheyt Sing poſitively refuſed to pay the money; and Sir Eyre Coote, by order of the Board, directed two battalions of Sepoys to march to Benares to enforce the payment; when theſe troops arrived, the caſh was paid, together with twenty thouſand rupees, the extra expence of marching the detachment from Dinapore to Benares.

Intelligence of this extraordinory event was ſent to England on the 14th of January, 1780. It arrived in October, and ſeems to have excited as little ſurprize here as it did in Bengal; for not the ſmalleſt notice was taken of the tranſaction by the Court of Directors; though the Governor General and Council, in their general letter, expreſs their aſtoniſhment

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at the refractory conduct of Cheyt Sing—I beg the Proprietors will attend to this circumstance.

On the 22d of June, 1780, the war still continuing, Mr. Hastings again proposed "that Cheyt Sing should be applied to for five lacks of rupees." It was unanimously agreed to. He promised instant compliance; and did pay one lack of rupees, but he delayed the payment of the remaining four lacks; and two lacks and a half of the money, the final balance, was not paid till the 18th of October, after a detachment had been ordered to Benares to enforce the payment. The account of this year's transactions was sent to England on the 29th of November, 1780, and received at the India House the 18th of October, 1781. I have never heard, Sir, that a single gentleman behind that bar has entered a protest against the proceedings of Mr. Hastings and his Council, to Cheyt Sing.—Will you then charge Mr. Hastings with being the sole cause of the revolution at Benares? If the demand (as most assuredly is the case) was just, it was right to enforce the payment of it—but if there are any gentlemen in the Direction who were *then* of a different opinion, how can they answer to the public in not bringing so important a point into full discussion, when a demand (according to the present doctrine) was made in direct violation of public faith, and enforced by military execution? Let me once more intreat the attention of the Court to this important subject, and to a circumstance, which, no doubt, will surprize them.

 I think

I think the Chairman has informed us, that of the five reſolutions which Mr. Haſtings has ſo ſolemnly denied to be founded in truth, the ſecond paſſed the Court ſeventeen to two. In that reſolution the Court of Directors ſay, that the Bengal government pledged itſelf that no other demand ſhould be made upon Cheyt Sing beyond the payment of his ſtipulated tribute. Good God! Sir, are you aware of the concluſion to be drawn from this confeſſion? To any or all of theſe ſeventeen gentlemen making ſuch a confeſſion, who were in the Direction in the years 1779, 1780, and 1781, do I attribute the revolution at Benares; and not to Mr. Haſtings. He who ſolemnly aſſerting, Sir, on the 9th of July, and the 28th of September, 1778, that we were not prevented from making the extra demand upon Cheyt Sing by any engagement ſubſiſting between us; who acting up to that ſolemn declaration, perſiſted in enforcing it for three years by military execution; who inſiſting upon it, that it was a right inherent in every ſtate to impoſe ſuch aſſeſſments on the ſubjects of that ſtate as were neceſſary for the general defence; was neither to be bribed nor perſuaded to relinquiſh what he deemed a juſt exaction—He, I ſay, Sir, acted from a firm conviction that he was right; and from 1778 to the preſent hour, his language has been uniform and conſiſtent — Then what ſhall we ſay to you, Sir, and as many of the ſeventeen gentlemen as were Directors in 1779, 1780, and 1781, who conceiving that Mr. Haſtings had ſo unwarrantably perſiſted in an unjuſt and oppreſſive demand; in a

demand

demand which brought on a rebellion, and ended in a revolution, yet never once protefted againft fo glaring an act of injuftice and oppreffion, or ever expreffed the fmalleft difapprobation of his conduct? Shall we not fay, Sir, that from the moment Mr. Haftings's conduct was made known to you and thofe gentlemen, who now affert that the government of Bengal has been guilty of an act of grofs injuftice, by extorting from Cheyt Sing what they could not have demanded without a violation of public faith; the refponfibility of the meafure refted with you? and that by not condemning his conduct, you caufed the maffacre of our troops—you caufed the rebellion of Cheyt Sing—and you are the authors of the revolution of Benares. If the demand of extra aid, in time of war, had not been made for three fucceffive years, the revolution of Benares would not have happened; nor would Mr. Haftings have perfifted in it, had feventeen, or thirteen Directors commanded him to defift; and affured him, that according to their conftruction of our engagements, the demand was improper. If the bufinefs of Benares is not entered into, I fhall fay no more on the fubject; but I am ready to meet your obfervations on Mr. Haftings's letter; and I fhall now only add, that the Directors, if they act with juftice, will repeal their fecond refolution; and then the only point to confider will be this—Was the fine of fifty lacks of rupees, which Mr. Haftings propofed to levy upon Cheyt Sing, too great for his offences. Mr. Haftings himfelf has brought forward his intention of fining Cheyt

 Sing,

Sing, who never did or could know of it; and I am ready at any time to meet this question.

You have been pleased, Mr. Chairman, to treat with an air of levity and ridicule Mr. Haſtings's mode of negotiation — I have read the proceedings relative to the Maratta peace, from the inſtructions ſent from Chunar to Colonel Muir, to Mr. Anderſon's laſt letter; and I defy the greateſt enemy Mr. Haſtings has upon earth to read theſe valuable and important papers, without paying that tribute of praiſe to the Governor General, to which he is entitled, for the vigour, the firmneſs, the ſpirit, and the ability diſplayed through the whole courſe of the negotiation.

I do not mean to fatigue the Proprietors by reading extracts from the general letter; but having read it myſelf, I can aſſure them that it contains a full and complete explanation and juſtification of Mr. Haſtings's conduct, as to thoſe points which have been ſo ſeverely animadverted upon in the Ninth Report of the Select Committee.*

Sir *Henry Fletcher* roſe again, after Major Scott, and begged the indulgence of the Court while the

* See the paragraphs 50, 66, 67, 90, 91, 92, 93 94, 99, 100, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, of the General Letter received by the Surprize packet, from Bengal.

Clerk

Clerk read certain paragraphs of a letter that he had brought forward for the confideration of the Court of Directors, and which, if approved by a majority, was to make part of the next general letter to Bengal. Thefe paragraphs were accordingly read, and appeared to make a great impreffion upon the Proprietors, from the captious, unjuft, and ungenerous reflections they contained on the conduct of the Governor General and Council, relative to the ceffion of Broach. When the Clerk had done reading— Mr. Sulivan rofe in great emotion, and earneftly entreated the Proprietors to remember, that what had been read was the compofition of the worthy Chairman, at leaft, that he had brought it forward— It neither had, nor could have, the fanction of the Court of Directors. That he had never read a letter of fo pernicious a tendency; and he declared moft folemnly, that if thofe paragraphs paffed, there would be a third Maratta war—In the firft place, the Chairman enters into a critique upon a tranfaction, of which, he confeffes, all the materials are not before him. In the next place, he accufes the Supreme Council of cheating and deceiving the Pefhwa; and laftly, he afks for that information, which he ought to have acquired before he attempted to animadvert upon the tranfaction; and when that information was received, he (Mr. Sulivan) was convinced, every difficulty would be as effectually cleared up in the mind of the Chairman as it then was in his own.

Governor

Governor *Johnstone* pressed the Chairman very much for an explanation, whether the three lacks relinquished by the 4th article of the treaty, and the lands ceded by Guickowar, mentioned in the 5th article, were not included in the account of the sixteen lacks collected by the establishment of Broach? To this the Chairman could give no distinct answer. But Mr. Hunter, one of the Directors, who had long been resident at Bombay, and who has generally possessed the most accurate advices, explained the matter to the Court, by stating, that six-tenths of the sixteen lacks had been ceded by the treaty; that there remained only seven lacks with the Company; that out of these seven lacks, one half had been promised to Sindia, and the other half to the Peshwa, at the convention of Worgaum; that it is true the Peshwa had relinquished the claim to his half by the late treaty; so that there remained three lacks and a half at the disposal of the India Company. Governor Johnstone then observed, that as the Chairman himself had acknowledged the civil establishment at Broach to cost three lacks, and the military three lacks more; supposing, upon the dominion being narrowed, our establishment to be brought to the lowest, still it must exceed five lacks; and therefore all we gave away, even by the Chairman's account, was one lack and a half — and this to secure the friendship of Madajee Sindia, the most powerful Chief in the Maratta empire; who, according to Mr. Hastings, had acted in the most steady, firm, and friendly manner throughout the whole negotiation. Besides, by this relinquish-

relinquifhment, we had removed the feeds of future difcord; which were fown in a very plentiful foil indeed, if the Englifh and the Marattas were to collect joint tribute in the fame diftrict, nay in the fame villages. — The fate of Mr. Haftings is peculiarly hard — If he acquires dominion by conqueft, upon aggreffion, he is ftated to the world as acting from the luft of inordinate ambition and rapacity; if he yields the fmalleft territory in the fpirit of peace and conciliation, and with a view of preferving thofe bleffings, and rendering them permanent, he is held forth as dealing out kingdoms in profufion, without any regard to the emolument of the Company — but the one charge and the other are equally baffled, upon a clofe inveftigation. Governor Johnftone then proceeded to remark, with more warmth than he had fhewn during the preceding part of the debate, that although he had been averfe to calling the General Court, thinking the actions of Mr. Haftings in themfelves greater than any eulogium that could be beftowed on them; and that the reproach of his enemies, and the reproach of public minifters, if they were his enemies, would fall much greater upon both, by taking no notice of the late advices; yet he now freely confeffed his error — He faw why the opponents of Mr. Haftings were averfe to the General Court; he faw alfo the propriety of its interference. When paragraphs, fuch as thofe which have been read, could be framed with fuch a captious, cavilling fpirit; conceived in language fo unworthy the Court of Directors, and fo unfit to be fent to the Governor

General

General of Bengal at any time when he held ſuch a commiſſion; and much more after tranſmitting accounts of events that muſt command the gratitude and admiration of future ages, if it could not extinguiſh the malicious ſpirit of thoſe who endeavoured to vilify his character by the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations, in ſcenes with which the public at large are not intimately acquainted, where the tranſactions were ſo complicated that few could unravel them. That it became more neceſſary now to enforce the motion, and even to invite oppoſition, which he before deprecated, that the merits of the queſtion might be tried by the moſt ſolemn deciſion.

Sir Henry Fletcher defended the letter, thought the ſtyle was decent and proper, and that the Directors had a right to demand an explanation in the terms he had uſed.

Mr. *Watſon.*

Sir HENRY FLETCHER,

I SHOULD not have intruded upon the patience of the Court, in this ſtage of the debate, if I did not think it exceedingly for the intereſt of the Eaſt-India Company, and equally for the honour of the Britiſh name, that the propoſed vote of approbation and thanks ſhould paſs unanimouſly. All the weight of argument, upon the ſubſtantial merits of the queſtion, ſeems to me to have been on one ſide only,

and therefore I will not repeat what was urged ſo ably by the honourable Governor who opened the debate, and by my learned friend who ſeconded the motion, leaſt, in the repetition, I ſhould exhauſt the ſpirit of their remarks. What has occupied the attention of gentlemen for the laſt half hour, is a very light feather indeed in the oppoſite ſcale. Let us advert for a moment, to what the real topic of diſcuſſion is; I take it to be this: Whether Mr. Haſtings, ſupported by the other members of the Supreme Council, was the cauſe of thoſe effectual ſupplies to the Carnatic, which enabled the forces and friends of the Eaſt-India Company to hold out, till the face of affairs was altered by the Maratta peace; whether he was the author and framer of that peace; and whether that peace be ſuch, under all its circumſtances, as to deſerve cenſure or praiſe.

By the turn which the debate has taken, the whole ſubject matter of this enquiry is narrowed to the laſt queſtion only. I have not heard it diſputed, that for the large ſupplies ſent to Madras, to the amount, if I miſtake not, of about three millions ſterling, we are indebted to the ſpirited exertions of the Governor General and Council of Bengal. No man has this day raiſed a ſuſpicion, that uncommon ability and exertion have not been uniformly diſplayed by the Governor General Council, during the late hoſtilities in India; no man has denied the effectual ſupport received from them, under the moſt preſſing difficulties, towards carrying on the war in the

Carnatic. Indeed it ſeems undeniable, that their conduct upon the moſt trying occaſions, that of the Governor General in particular, has diſplayed ſuch wiſdom, penetration, and magnanimity, as do not uſually fall to the lot of mortals. It has not been contradicted that the ſucceſſes of Hyder's irruption were checked by that great man; or, that in all probability, the completion of thoſe exertions will anihilate the dangerous power of the French, and of thoſe natives whoſe enmity to us has been encouraged by their alliance all over India. I have not heard a doubt ſtarted from any quarter, but that the concluſion of this treaty of peace with the Marattas, at ſo critical a period, has nearly compleated the triumph of our arms in India, or has at leaſt totally prevented the triumph of thoſe of our enemies. I have not heard it doubted, much leſs have I heard it denied, that the plan of peace was laid by Mr. Haſtings, that the definitive concluſion of it was obtained by his perſeverance, and the able negotiation of Mr. Anderſon, who was choſen out by him for this great work. I have, indeed, with ſome amazement, heard it imputed to Mr. Haſtings, that this was not the only plan which ſuggeſted itſelf to his active mind. I have, with increaſe of aſtoniſhment, heard it contended, that therefore ſucceſs was not to have been expected from his ſuperabundant endeavours, and accordingly that our thanks for his having accompliſhed that ſucceſs, may, with reaſon, be delayed. Thus, Sir, we are deſired to make the activity of his exertions, not barely an

apology,

apology, but a reaſon for the ſlowneſs of our praiſe. Yet, admitting the utmoſt that is, or can be contended; admitting that it was not a wiſe plan laid by Mr. Haſtings for General Goddard to lead his army from Bengal, through the very heart of the Maratta dominions, and ſo attended, to treat for peace at Poona, the capital. Granting that this negotiation would not have been ſucceſsful, even if the convention of Worgaum had not operated, like a chilling froſt to nip it in the bud; granting likewiſe that the Rajah of Berar was an improper perſon to have been treated with; that it would have been impolitic and unjuſt to place him at the head of the Maratta government; and that Mr. Haſtings was at one moment weak enough to think of propoſing this wrong to be done to the preſent Peſhwa, as the condition of obtaining terms of peace in other reſpects honourable. All theſe things being allowed, what has been, or what can be made of them as reaſons for poſtponing our vote of commendation for the peace actually obtained, and the other honourable ſervices ſpecified in the motion, why, nothing more than this: that two treaties being opened, beſides that which has been finally concluded, once afforded reaſon for ſuſpecting that no peace would ſoon be ratified. But is it, Sir, perfectly fair to argue from hence, that gratitude ſhould ſleep, now ſo glorious a peace is in fact concluded, in point of time ſo early, and on terms ſo advantageous, beyond our moſt ſanguine expectations? Is it right to ſift the active workings of this great man's mind, to

ſcrutinize the trials made by him in different quarters, and diſcovering (what he had before diſcovered) that the obſtacles to ſome of them were ſo many, as to render ſucceſs doubtful, therefore, to deny him commendation for ceaſing to purſue unſucceſsful endeavours too far, and for graſping at the aſtoniſhing idea of compelling Madajee Sindia to be the mediator and guarantee of permanent tranquillity, by ſending the vigour of war into the heart of this powerful chief's dominions, by attacking his capital, by calling his whole attention to his own immediate danger, and thereby convincing him, that unleſs by ſuing for peace, he could not ſave himſelf from ruin, and his name from being obliterated from the roll of Maratta chiefs, except when Mr. Haſtings ſhould be mentioned as the cauſe of its being expunged? Ought the Governor General to be blamed for this, eſpecially when, upon Sindia's deſiring terms of peace for himſelf, by the wiſeſt exerciſe of good policy, peace was granted to him upon condition of his becoming the mediator with the Poona Durbar, and with the other powerful chiefs of the Maratta State, for accompliſhing a general pacification? Let us firſt ſee if it be poſſible to fix a ſtandard in our own minds, by which to meaſure ſuch great conceptions before we begin to arraign them in the groſs, or to develope their parts, in order to find little faults with ſome of them. And reſpecting which faults, if they be ſuch, when all is ſaid, the truth turns out, that they are, at the utmoſt, ſuch ſlight deviations from perfection

itself, as only serve to mark that Mr. Haftings is ftill a man; for to err is the fault of human nature. But the errors of Mr. Haftings, in this bufinefs of the Maratta peace, appear to me exceffively trivial, when compared with thofe wonderful exertions of human intellect, and that fteadinefs to his point, by which it was at length perfected, and the ratification finally exchanged, upon terms that muft perpetuate his abilities and name in all parts of the world whither the annals which inrol the tranfaction may reach, down to the lateft hour of their prefervation. I did hardly expect to hear the European treaty of peace, the ficknefs or the death of Hyder, or the intervention of any other circumftances that might poffibly concur in forwarding this glorious peace, made ufe of in argument to diminifh from the merit of Mr. Haftings in getting it accomplifhed. As the matter ftrikes my mind, one peculiar merit which diftinguifhes Mr. Haftings as a compleat ftatefman in this bufinefs is, his catching at all favourable circumftances as they arofe, and improving them to the great purpofe he had in view. And before I can be qualified to find fault, I muft have my mind raifed to the elevation of his. I know, indeed, that little minds can cenfure, what, from human imperfection, the greateft cannot mend. I refer now to the manner of his attaining the object at which we have fo much caufe to rejoice; and do not refer to any diftinct acts of Mr. Haftings's adminiftration. I am not his general advocate; I think he has his errors, and great ones. When I faw the dreadful mifchiefs

of

of ſuch a war as was carrying on with the Maratta country, conſidering him as the author of that war, no man was more free to cenſure him; and I muſt ſee the evidence of his being, or not being ſo, in a very different light from that in which it ever has appeared to me, and yet does appear to me, before I can retract that cenſure. But let not this prevail with me to refuſe him my warmeſt gratitude and applauſe for the Maratta peace. No man has denied to me that this peace is peculiarly his—excluſively his in the planning—and carried on to its completion under his firm inſtructions, by his choſen inſtruments. I blamed, and ſtill do blame him, for the war; but I think him entitled, in a tenfold degree, to my warmeſt thanks for this peace. I will examine a little more particularly whether he is ſo: and the rule I will go by ſhall be the only objection which I underſtand to be now relied on. Indeed we were told that a ſecret article was ſigned, between Sindia and the Peſhwa, on the very day that the definitive treaty of peace was interchanged. But we are not told that it is an article injurious to us; and it may be ſome matter relative to their mutual intereſts, as contradiſtinguiſhed from the other Maratta powers. This, however, and an account of the capture of two officers by the Marattas, in their way to General Matthews, ſince the ſigning of the articles, (which muſt have ariſen from ſome miſtake; but which, if it ſhould turn out as at preſent related, can hardly be conſidered as an infraction of the treaty) were ſlightly mentioned, as reaſons for poſtponing

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the vote now under confideration. But they feem to be given up. And the only objection perfifted in is, that by way of bargain with Sindia, the half of Broach was promifed, upon condition of his fecuring the peace; and that on the day of its final fettlement the whole was, by a fecret article, actually given up to him, and not merely the half ftipulated for. This introduced fome difcuffions about the real value of Broach; eftimates have been read; actual receipts have been ftated — Whether half was not ceded to the Marattas by the treaty itfelf, and whether the Mogul half was not all we had to give afterwards, and confequently all that was given Sindia by the fecret articles, and whether even this was not his before, according to the ftipulation made with him for faving our Bombay army, have been ftarted as queftions, upon which the affirmative has been prefumed, remains uncontradicted. As I underftand the fact, the Mogul fhare of the city of Broach is by the treaty retained to the Company, exempted from every claim of chout. — The Maratta country of three lacks near Broach as ceded to us by Colonel Upton's treaty, is relinquifhed to them again — and the Guickwar lands are reftored to the two Guickwars and to the Pefhwa, to be apportioned according to the real truth of their refpective original claims. And I likewife conceive that the Mogul fhare is the douceur given to Scindia for his agency in the peace. But I will not confider the matter upon thefe grounds. I love to meet an objection fairly, and to examine it upon its broadeft pretenfions.

ſions. Whether therefore ſixteen or ſix lacks be the real value of the city and territory of Broach — whether the whole or the half of this, the Mogul or the Maratta ſhare, be which it may, or both be the price paid for the Maratta peace, ſhall make no part of my argument. But is this peace, under all the other circumſtances of obtaining it, upon the whole, too dearly purchaſed at any price alledged to be given for it? This is now the only queſtion. I have heard it often ſaid, that any peace in India is better than any war. The point has been diſcuſſed upon records, with uncommon ability, between Mr. Haſtings and a gentleman of whoſe integrity I entertain the higheſt opinion, whoſe minutes do equal honour to his head and heart, and for whom I have the higheſt perſonal reſpect. I have alſo very frequently heard the ſame thing aſſerted in this country. And although it is not perhaps a propoſition univerſally true, in the moſt abſolute ſenſe, yet I have never entertained a doubt, that any peace likely to be laſting, procured upon any terms, would be better than the late actual war which threatened our total extirpation from India, or at any rate endangered our ſettlements both on the Coromandel and Malabar coaſts. What, Sir, have the Governor General and Council obtained to relieve us from ſuch apprehenſions? A peace, highly honourable and beneficial; at the price, if you pleaſe, of giving up all the Broach revenues, whatever the amount of them may be. A peace in which although Baſſein is delivered up to the Peſhwa, Salſette, and other places, of greater importance to the Company

pany than Baffein, are retained in our poffeffion — A peace wherein the refpective allies of the two parties to the treaty are included with them; except that Hyder Ally, before in alliance with the Pefhwa, fhould, now at the rifkof forfeiting that alliance, be made to relinquifh and reftore to the Company, and their allies, all poffeffions taken by him from either. In fhort Hyder was by the terms of this peace to be compelled to abftain from his hoftilities — And all the Chiefs of the Maratta State are included in the treaty, and bound by it — former privileges of trade are reftored on all fides — the enemies of one are to be holden enemies of the other — Madajee Sindia, who was the mediator, became the guarantee of this treaty, thus accomplifhed; and the queftion now is, whether at the price paid to him, alledged to be a city and territory of fixteen lacks, the purchafe is too dear — My anfwer is, that the annual expences of your army to carry on the war, prodigioufly exceeded the largeft eftimate that has been named as the confideration given for the peace; and your all was at ftake; every poffeffion you have was in hourly rifk and danger. But before the ink of the treaty was well dry, one of the articles had wrought its effect. It will be recollected that Tippo Saib fucceeded to the command of the Myfore army, upon the death of his father, Hyder Ally, in December laft, the very month in which this treaty (that had been concluded between Madajee Sindia and Mr. Anderfon in May, and ratified by the Governor General and Council in June) was completely ratified by the minifters at

N Poona;

Poona; Tippo was purſuing the footſteps of his father, but was ſo ſuddenly checked in his career, by the article which expreſsly named Hyder, that in March, within three weeks after the Definitive Treaty was finally interchanged with public formalities, he was actually retreating with his army home to Myſore, with all poſſible expedition. We underſtand it to be indubitably certain, that on the 13th of March our troops took poſſeſſion of Arcot, for the Nabob, within an hour after it was evacuated by Tippo Saib. We know by the ſame authority, that he no longer holds Arneè — in a word that he has left the Carnatic — and that the full and final ſettlement of peace with the Marattas, and moſt peculiarly and emphatically this article in the alliance with them reſpecting Hyder, had an inſtantaneous effect upon Tippo Saib, his ſon and ſucceſſor, equivalent to a total overthrow. The Maratta Miniſters and Chiefs agreed to compel him to make peace; and upon his refuſal, to join in the requiſite meaſures for his utter ruin. He inſtantly felt the effect of this alliance between them, and as ſuddenly retired. As to this one article, therefore, we have deciſive knowledge of the inſtantaneous good effect of the treaty. Can we then with the ſmalleſt propriety ſuſpend our vote of thanks, with the avowed purpoſe of waiting to know the effect of the treaty, and no other? This would be a tacit diſapprobation of the whole of this article, as well as the reſt; it would weaken the confidence of our friends, raiſe the ſpirits of our enemies, and among other miſchie-

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vous confequences, provoke the former to with-hold their affiftance, and the latter to renew their attacks. Such a waiting as this for beneficial effects from the peace, and a fufpenfion of our thanks till they all take place, may make a change in this inftance of Tippo — may prevent the other good effects entirely, and muft neceffarily retard their progrefs, which it is alike for our intereft and our honour to accelerate. But notwithftanding we have been barely defired to fufpend our vote of praife, the only argument that is relied upon, implies that a vote of cenfure ought to be paffed; and this is the more manly way of putting the cafe: — the purchafe of this peace is more than it is worth; or, in the mildeft form of confidering the fubject, better terms might have been obtained; and therefore the large revenues of Broach ought not to have been given up, as the price of it, to the mediator and guarantee. In difcuffing this matter, one thing ought to be confidered; that in all negotiations of this nature there muft be fome inducement to a compliance on each fide, or they never can terminate in an agreement. In this inftance I have faid before, that, admitting, for the fake of argument, the city and territory of Broach to produce fixteen lacks, though I take the fact to be moft decifively otherwife) and admitting the whole of this to have been referved to the Company by the treaty, (though upon the face of the treaty itfelf I take this not to have been fo either) and that by a fecret article with Sindia, voluntarily offered, after the ratification, beyond the bounty ftipulated for, the whole of this revenue

is confirmed to him, by as permanent a tenure as the definitive treaty of which he is the guarantee; all this amounts to but a ſmall proportion of the ſum annually expended in the war. And therefore allowing this to be really the price, I ſhould not think it wantonly ſquandered away, but the termination of the war would, in my opinion, be purchaſed at a cheap rate: for it is no leſs than ſalvation from utter deſtruction. It bids fair to be as permanent as it is extenſive; or if it ſhould not be ſo, the blame will be moſt probably due to ourſelves. But then we have been aſked, What will the Peſhwa, the Miniſters, and other Chiefs ſay, when they find that by the ſecret article with Sindia, their ſhare of the revenues of Broach is given over to him? I can only anſwer, that if by the definitive treaty of peace the Guickwar country is given back to its former owners, and whatever was formerly a part of the Peſhwa's territories is reſtored to him, this ſecret article cannot operate upon either, but extends only to the Mogul ſhare, which the Company were to poſſeſs, and therefore might diſpoſe of, without participation or claim of any kind; on the other hand, if by the definitive treaty the whole is reſerved to the Engliſh, then whether they uſe it themſelves, or give it up to another as a reward for equivalent ſervices, no juſt offence can be taken by the other parties to the treaty.

Upon the whole, Sir, if Mr. Haſtings and the Council General deſerve our thanks at all, I can ſee no objection againſt agreeing to the entire reſolution

propoſed.

propofed. The latter part, in particular, appears to me the neceffary refult of the former; fince it would be the height of folly to commend the Governor General for what he has done, and at the fame time to wifh for his recal before he has compleated the work. To requeft his continuance in the government, and at the fame time to with-hold from him our moft vigorous fupport, would be ftill a more extreme degree of folly, and would favour fo much of diflike to the admirable peace he has obtained, as to take away all confidence which Sindia may have in us, or our nation, to betray total want of public faith, and to endanger the renewal of the Maratta war, accompanied by frefh irruptions from every power of India that heretofore has been inimical to the Englifh, or may be defirous to drive us from our fettlements.

This is my fincere opinion. I do not know how to argue upon it more at large, after it has been difcuffed with fo much greater ability. I cannot feel the force of what has been urged againft it, and I think that I have confidered the objection difpaffionately. I will not fatigue the Court by repeating thofe arguments which have been urged in its favour, with infinitely greater abilities than I poffefs. My only motive for rifing was to enforce the remark with which I began, and in the propriety of which I am confirmed by every thing that I have heard, that it is equally for our intereft and our honour to pafs this refolution unanimoufly. It may be collected,

collected, from what I have already offered, that I am not misled into this sentiment by any undue predilection in favour of Mr. Hastings. I am actuated merely as a public man, and purely upon public motives. I am very far from commending all the actions of his life, or approving all the measures of his government; but I will not, in this hour of rejoicing, undertake the invidious task of bringing forward any matter extraneous to the immediate question before us, which might be an alloy to the praises justly due to the astonishing success of his wonderful exertions. To deny him these praises would be to dishonour myself. I am not his general panegyrist; I have no personal attachment to him; and if I feel any prejudice, it is against him; but were I capable of the most mortal enmity, and he the object of it, I hope that I should not even then be so deficient in the first rudiments of public virtue, as to refuse my vote of commendation and applause, to him and his colleagues, for such distinguished services, so gloriously performed.—If I were, my case would, according to my poor apprehension, resemble that of some captious mortal, refusing to thank Heaven for the vivifying power of the sun, after the storms of winter, because spots have been discovered on its surface.

The question was now called for from all parts of the court; but Mr. Edward Moore being upon his legs, Governor Johnstone earnestly desired to be heard, to order: He said he entreated the Proprietors

to liſten with the utmoſt attention to what the honourable and worthy gentleman, Mr. Moore, ſhould ſay. Let them conſider the advantages their enemies would take of them, were they now to call for the queſtion. The preſent meeting which in point of numbers, and of the honourable characters who filled the court, was as reſpectable an aſſembly as had ever been convened in that or any other place, would be termed a factious, diſorderly aſſembly. He therefore begged the Proprietors to attend to whatever might fall from the honourable gentleman, or any other Proprietor who was an enemy to the motion.

General *Oglethorpe.*

I BEG, Sir Henry Fletcher, to be heard, to order: The debate has taken ſo extraordinary a turn, that I entreat every gentleman preſent will liſten with attention to the worthy Proprietor. The point now is, whether you approve or diſapprove of the Maratta peace; and I am exceedingly anxious to obtain every information I can on that important ſubject—as a worthy Director has ſaid, " if we approve of the Chairman's proceedings, we ſhall have a third Maratta war."

Mr.

Mr. *Moore.*

Governor *Johnstone* having introduced his motion of of thanks to Mr. Hastings, without reading any papers or extracts from the Company's records, or adduced any premises whereon to found conclusions to warrant his motion, Mr. E. Moore rose and expressed his surprise at the Governor's mode of proceeding, and wished to have such documents produced, as might enable him and the Court to form a judgment on the very extensive and *complicated* question before them. This caused Governor Johnstone to say, he meant, before he sat down, to call for certain extracts and papers to be read short, for the information of the court. Mr. Moore complained of the Governor's retrograde method of proceeding, in first introducing his motion, telling the Proprietors it could not possibly meet with a dissentient voice; and then calling for a few *detatched paragraphs* in the Company's dispatches, to be read short, when, in order to judge of the propriety of the question before them, it was necessary to ransack the Company's records ten years back. Mr. Moore said, calling for *detatched parts*, and not the *whole of the proceedings* against Cheyt Sing, was one part of Mr. Hastings's complaint against the Court of Directors, in his letter of the 20th March, 1783; because, without *the whole* proceedings had been before the Directors, Mr. Hastings tells them it was impossible they could judge of his conduct in that business.

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From Mr. Haftings's own doctrine, it fhews how neceffary it is to have the *whole* hiftory of Mr. Haftings's conduct in the Maratta war before the Court, before they can poffibly be ripe to judge of a motion of thanks to him for concluding the Maratta peace. He obferved, that in the extracts and papers the Governor meant to call for, he took no notice of Mr. Haftings's letter to the Court of Directors of the 20th of March, and infifted, that was too material a paper to efcape the attention of the Court of Proprietors; for it contained a direct and abfolute *charge* againft the Court of Directors, a charge, which their honour and the duty they owed to the Company, called upon them to anfwer; for it was little fhort of a criminal accufation. Therefore, he preffed the Chairman to know, whether he, the whole Court of Directors, or any one of them, had prepared any anfwer to that letter, or could fay any thing in juftification of their conduct, fo directly criminated by the Governor General's letter. This, but not till repeatedly preffed, drew from the Chairman, Sir Henry Fletcher, an account of what he had prepared as an anfwer, and conceived to be a compleat juftification of the Directors, in oppofition to the Governor General's charge. This very material information, threw fuch light upon the queftion, that Mr. Moore infifted, nothing but the moft determined refolution of the Court, blindly to vote for the motion of thanks, without information, could induce the honourable mover (after hearing this juftification of the Chairman read) to hope for

uccefs in carrying it. The enormous bribe of two hundred thoufand pounds per annum, given to Sindia, the guarantee of the treaty, for his fervices in bringing it to a conclufion, was enough to damn the peace and the peace-maker: This two hundred thoufand pounds per annum, the only advantageous article of the treaty, ought to have come into the Company's coffers, not into Scindia's. This, and this only, was fufficient, without the unknown fecret article, or any other circumftance, to evince the neceffity of poftponing the vote of thanks, till the Court was ripe, from a confideration of the whole of Mr. Haftings's conduct, and various circumftances attending the negociations for the Maratta peace, to judge of the queftion before them. He charged Governor Johnftone, who had mentioned Lord Rodney's cafe, with judging from *events*, and not *circumftances*, infifting that Lord Rodney's difmiffion from the public fervice, at the moment it was determined, might be wife and perfectly well judged; and that his Lordfhip's fortunate conqueft afterwards, was *an event*, which ought not to weigh a feather, in oppofition to fuch a determination. That in like manner the various cenfures, voted by parliament, the Directors, and Proprietors, upon Mr. Haftings, were warranted, juft, and proper, at the moment; and that the *event* of the Maratta peace, however fortunate it had been, (though he contended it was a difgrace both to the Company and the nation) could not *now* wipe away, nor bury in oblivion, the crimes for which he had been formerly cenfured;

and he insisted, the premises from which the Governor attempted to draw his conclusions, was an absurd mode of reasoning, condemned by every day's experience. It was true we had a peace with the Marattas, but it was replete with disgrace, and instead of obtaining the object which induced the managers of it to break the peace settled by Colonel Upton, they had been obliged to relinquish the advantages of that treaty. Never were the British arms and name so degraded, so tarnished, as by the breach of Upton's treaty and the terms of the present; to say nothing of a loss of four millions of money, in the prosecution of it, which had drained their eastern treasuries of every rupee.

He said, the honourable Governor had laid great stress on the ninth article of the treaty respecting Hyder Ally; and the thirteenth article respecting their intercourse with the European nations, as advantages compensating every relinquishment on the part of the Company. This language, he said, was very well calculated to impose on the uninformed Proprietors; but gentlemen who had been in India knew it to be a fact, that the Marattas and Hyder were natural enemies.—(the Governor and others affected to laugh at this) He added, it is only a want of acquaintance with the history and interest of the various Asiatic powers, that occasions this laugh: every gentleman around me, who has been in the east, cannot be ignorant, there is an infinitely greater natural antipathy between the Marattas

and Hyder, than between the Engliſh and French; and it was the enormities of Mr. Haſtings, that drove them into an alliance againſt us, for their mutual defence and ſafety. They were at war againſt each other, and joined their arms to ſeek revenge againſt us. Nay, to ſuch an height were their hoſtilities carried, that Hyder even went ſo far as to call on us to join him againſt the Marattas, in virtue of our treaty of 1769. The madneſs of government refuſed; and, in ſo doing, broke that treaty, *by not going to war with the Marattas*; and in Bengal, your government, or rather governor, broke a ſecond treaty, Colonel Upton's, made under the direction of thoſe able and virtuous men, Sir J. Clavering, Monſon, and Francis, *by going to war with them*. From theſe inconſiſtencies and infirmities in your Councils, and from their diſregard to national honour and faith, theſe two Indian powers, Hyder and the Marattas, which no cement could ever unite before, were driven to a junction for their mutual protection, as well as to puniſh our perfidy; no other conjuncture, no other combination of cauſes could poſſibly have effected ſo unnatural an union. Hence there can be no great merit, as the honourable mover of this queſtion would have us believe, due to Mr. Haſtings for this article: ſo contrary to it, that people in Bengal are aſtoniſhed the Marattas did not condition with your Governor General for Hyder's extirpation; and ſuch appears to be the latent intent of the ninth article of the Maratta treaty.

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With regard to the thirteenth article, reſpecting intercourſe between the Marattas and European powers: This article, alſo, is not leſs their own inclination and intereſt than ours; and moſt likely was a propoſition of their own, meaning thereby to plead the ſanctity of treaty for obviating the importunity of European powers without giving offence. The Marattas abhor the idea of intermixing with European nations, as much as chriſtians do living amongſt infidels. Their religious tenets, manners, and cuſtoms, forbid; and their national intereſts will ever oppoſe it. The Chevalier St. Lubin, who was intriguing at the court of Poonah, on the part of the French, for four or five years, never once received the fainteſt ſhade of encouragement; although his being there was matter of great ſuſpicion to your government in Bengal, and one reaſon amongſt other very inadmiſſible ones, for the origin of the late Maratta war.

Great errors in oriental management, ariſe from a want of uniformity in ſyſtem. By the cauſes of the preſent war with Hyder and the Marattas, it appears we have had as many ſyſtems as governments; and that each government has had a ſyſtem of its own; in ſo much, that while the government of Madraſs broke a treaty *by not going to war with the Marattas*; the government of Bengal broke a treaty *by going to war with them.* It will be worth obſerving, how this treaty with the Marattas is worded, and particularly the preamble or title. It never once mentions the name of Mr. Haſtings, and *emphatically*

confines the appointment of the *Governor General and Council, to the King and Parliament of Great Britain*, making them the repreſentatives of the nation at large, and the tutelary guardian of the Eaſt India Company's right only, without other reſponſibility towards them. This is virtually denying them any controuling juriſdiction; the whole treaty breaths nothing but contrition and ſubmiſſion, and more properly to be ſtiled *entreaty*. The reaſon of this extraordinary departure from the real conſtitution of the Company's government is, that *Sindia*, the guarantee, and ſurety for our future good behaviour, was ſo enraged at Mr. Haſtings's perfidy and intrigue, that he would not bear to hear his name mentioned: this fact is well known in India. No doubt this peace with the Marattas, diſgraceful as it is, in point of ſubmiſſive relinquiſhment of right and acquiſition, has its advantages; of ſecuring Bengal from their inroads, and a general combination of all oriental powers, and retrenchment of great expences, the continuance of which, threatened to drain the Aſiatic ſettlements of the laſt particle of ſpecie. But theſe are not the meritorious gifts of the peace-maker,—yet, to my ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, though the gentleman who ſupports this motion, admits Mr. Haſtings to be the author of the Maratta war; great merit and applauſe is attributed to him, as the baſis whereon they build this motion of thanks and public favour. If ſuch, then, are the advantages, the merits, the deſirable bleſſings of peace, why go unprovoked to war? Why plunge

and drown all thofe ineftimable bleffings in wild, headftrong fchemes of vifionary conqueft? Why violate the rights of nations, facrifice every pinciple of humanity, and trample on the natural rights of mankind? And why infract the peace of Poorunder, fettled by Colonel Upton in 1776, the terms of which were *honourable and advantageous to the Company*, and met the higheft and moft diftinguifhed approbation of the nation? Was it becaufe that treaty was effected by the well-timed interpofition of the virtuous adminiftration of Sir John Clavering, Monfon, and Francis? I think the laft as probable a reafon as any. If Mr. Haftings's advocates would ingenuoufly acknowledge his errors, in commencing this war, he would then be entitled to every commendation due to the merit of his reform; but in no other point of view can they affume to claim it. Indeed the honourable Governor acknowledges Mr. Haftings was not free from errors; but fays, Mr. Haftings's merits in making this peace, ought to be a veil and cover for them, and defires they may be forgot. I have minutes in my hand, by which I fee I have met him in this court ten years ago. I fhall be happy to meet him here ten years hence: thefe minutes remind me of what the honourable Governor wifhes me and this court to forget; namely, that on the 6th December, 1775, Mr. Haftings was cenfured by this court, for being the author of an unjuft and unprovoked war againft the Rohillas, — a people ever confidered as a barrier between us and the Marattas.

That on the 2d April 1776, Mr. Haftings was

cenſured for ſuffering his banyan to hold farms, contrary to the regulations of the Committee of Revenue in Bengal, — for ſuffering Cantoo Baboo to withdraw his ſecurity, &c. by which the Company incurred a loſs of 500,000l.

That on the 8th May, 1776, Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Barwell's conduct was ſuch, it was reſolved by the directors, to remove them from their reſpective offices.

That when this queſtion was agitated in the General Court of Proprietors, the misfortune was, that Mr. Haſtings and Mr. Barwell being both included in *one* queſtion, it proved the ſalvation of Mr. Barwell, who, upon his own confeſſion, was univerſally condemned; and, had the queſtion been put ſeparately, Mr. Barwell would certainly have been removed, and his removal would again have put the Government into the hands of Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis, under whoſe conduct the Company's affairs flouriſhed, and arrived at that height of proſperity and glory, from which, ſince Colonel Monſon's demiſe, they have ever been falling, under Mr. Haſtings's government.

My minute, likewiſe reminds me, that on Nov. 19, 1776, we were aſſembled to conſider of a letter from Mr. Haſtings, wherein he had authoriſed, impowered and directed Mr. Maclean to ſignify his reſignation. This reſignation was unanimouſly approved by the Court of Directors; and Mr. Maclean ſaid he would ſuffer crucifixion if Mr. Haſtings did not reſign. Can this Court forget Mr. Haſtings's conduct on that occaſion? On that very day, I ven-

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tured to aſſert, ſpeaking of Sir J. Clavering, Monſon, and Francis, that they had been the ſaviours of the country, and of the property of the Company and individuals — That they had improved the country; increaſed your collections; augmented your inveſtments; reduced your expences; effected treaties (amongſt which the Maratta was one) which ſupported one-third of your military eſtabliſhment; and ſtill more, paid off all your bond debts, which threated your ruin. — Nor can I forget, that the honourable Governor, who generally contrives to laugh at what falls from me, was happy in his laugh on that occaſion — But, he muſt now ſuffer me to bring to his ſerious attention, what happened in 1780, when he was very active in the appointment of Lord Macartney to the government of Madras: an appointment that did him and every man who joined their efforts to his, in obtaining it, great honour; for Lord Macartney's abilities, integrity, good management, and virtue, has endeared him to this Company, and his country, in a way never to be forgotten. Does the honourable Governor and this Court recollect, that in ſupport of Lord Macartney's nomination to Madras, the Governor ſaid, "Never will I again oppoſe the nomination of a Governor to any of our ſettlements who has not been brought up in your ſervice, for that reaſon only; for when I conſider the abilities, the virtues, the unſkaken integrity, and great ſervices of Sir John Clavering, whoſe ſtatue ought now to be before us in Gold, I muſt ever lament the oppoſition I gave to his meaſures." —— The honourable Governor, in opening his motion this

day, has told you, "The thanks he wishes to vote for Mr. Hastings may be considered as an implied censure upon others; and has endeavoured to explain that away." I have formerly said it, in this Court, and shall ever insist, that the honourable Governor's eulogium upon General Clavering was, by fair implication, a *severe censure upon Mr. Hastings's* conduct, who in his letter to the Court of Directors, December 3, 1774, protests against all the acts of the majority of the Council, then composed of Clavering, Monson, and Francis. Let us compare our *present* situation with our former upon the death of Colonel Monson, when your present Governor General became all powerful.

The honourable mover of the question before us, gives great merit to Mr. Hastings for the pecuniary supplies he sent to Madrass. How were those supplies raised? By stopping all issues from your Bengal treasury; accumulating all your collections in January, February, and March 1783; by every exertion, and draining every resource, Mr. Hastings was able to send ten lacks of Rupees with Sir Eyre Coote to Madras. Ten lacks was all that could be got in these three months; though it is a fact known in Bengal, that by a judicious management of your revenues there, the month of January only ought to have produced sixty lacks. — In March 1783, our situation in Bengal was nearly as follows — Not a Rupee in the treasury — The country in ruins — The revenues collected in March had fallen short near sixty lacks; and no prospect of any more for three or four months to come — Your investments

only

only provided for payment of a million of money and upwards, borrowed in Bengal, and drawn upon the Company, payable here—Your expences in Bengal daily increafing — Treaties made that difgrace you — Your military and civil eftablifhments many months in arrear; the money that ought to have paid them, and purchafed your inveftments, having been fquandered away in the unprovoked, unjuft, unneceffary Maratta war — Your armies ready to mutiny, for want of pay in March — The Company at home not in a capacity to accept the bills drawn for the inveftments; and befides, owing above one million to Government for cuftoms they are not able to pay.

I intreat you to contraft this picture with the ftate of your affairs when they fell under Mr. Haftings's direction in 1776, and then fay, whether Mr. Haftings deferves your thanks.—Though you may doubt thefe facts to-day, before this day twelve months you will, I fear, be convinced they are too true. If they are true, where can you look for, and how can you hope for that dividend which will be due in January next?—I wifh to protect my property; and, if my fellow proprietors have any regard for theirs, they cannot any longer fupport the man who has brought this company to the brink of ruin. I obferve the honourable Director on the right hand of the chair (Mr. Sulivan) fays, the Chairman's anfwer to the Governor General's letter is no juftification of the directors, and that it would be a dangerous letter to fend to India.—And he reminds us of Mr. Haftings's fervices to the Company, in in-

creafing the falt farms fixty lacks,—but forgets Mr. Haftings fuffered his banyan to hold fome of thefe farms for his benefit. — I have not much confidence in what falls from that gentleman; for I well remember, that on the eve of our bankruptcy ten years ago, he ftood up, in the very place where he now is, and affured us, all would do well, and nothing was wanting but a *little circulation*; though, in a fhort time after, the Company were infolvent.—A learned gentleman (Mr. Dallas) has juft acknowledged, that Mr. Haftings's friendfhip induced him to give the honourable Director's fon a valuable contract, for which he had been blamed.—No wonder, then, that the honourable Director is Mr. Haftings's panegyrift! The fin of ingratitude is a damnable fin! But, it cannot be imputed to the honourable Director.—I requeft the Court will remember, though they do not regard what has fallen from me this day; for, fure I am, it will be neceffary to remind them of it hereafter, when it will be too late for them to correct the error they are fo very impatient to commit. I will only add, that I lay my hand upon my heart, and affure the Court, the negative I fhall give to this queftion, proceeds from the perfect conviction in my own mind, that there are not the leaft grounds, upon which Mr. Haftings is entitled to our thanks.

When Mr. Moore fat down, the queftion was again called; and, no other gentleman rifing to fpeak, it was put by the Chairman, and carried with only a fingle negative,—Mr. Edward Moore's.

THE END.